

# IN THESE TIMES

Nuclear Showdown  
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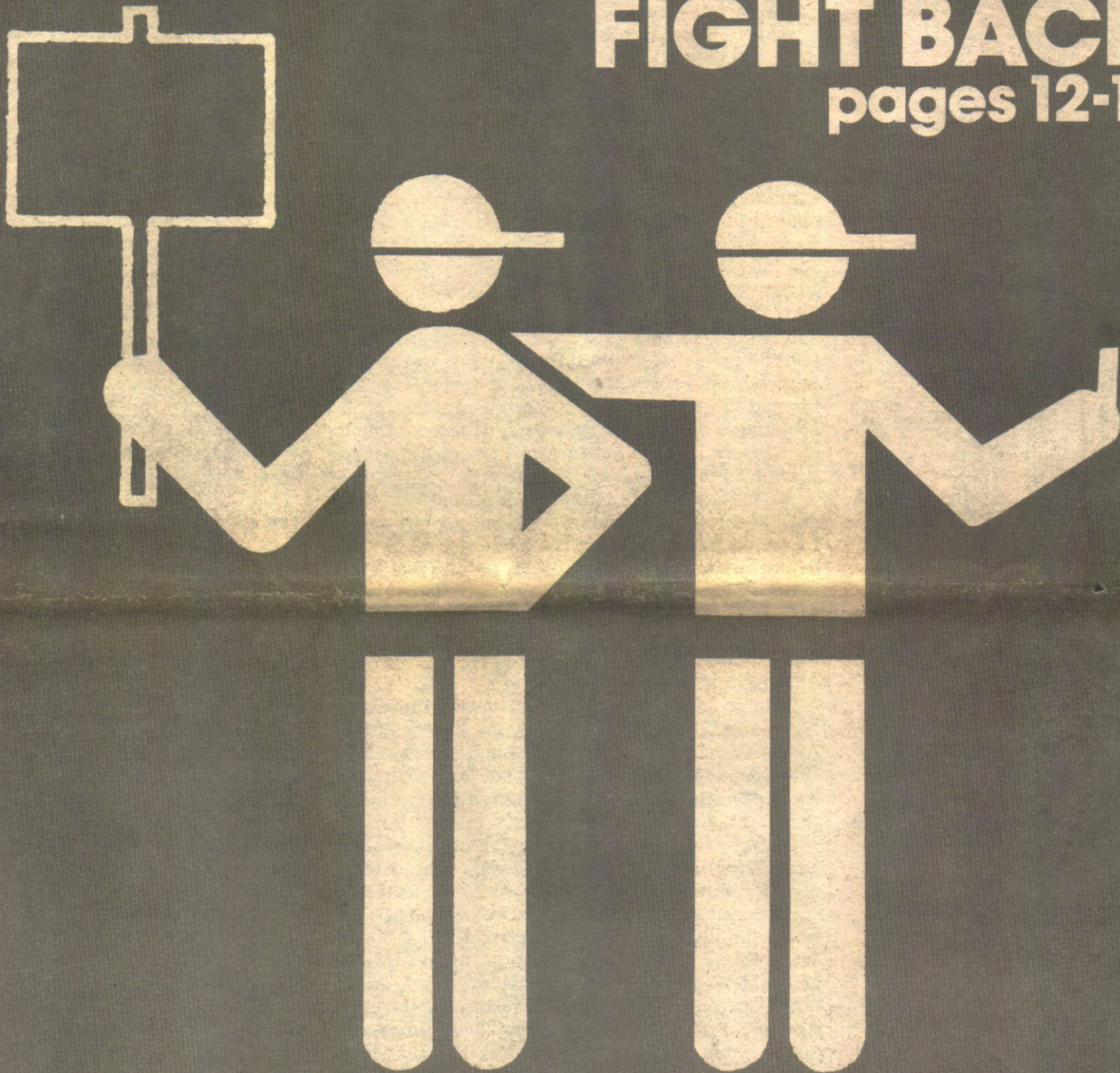


Vol. 2, No. 23

April 26-May 2, 1978

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*Illustration by Tom Greensfelder*

# MUSIC



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PUNK, ROCK, FOLK & ALL THAT JAZZ

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# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



EPLF representative Bereket Habte-Selassie

## Musical chairs: Sour notes in the Horn of Africa

The era of world wars was sparked by the assassination of a Serbian archduke. It was not to be the last time that a relatively obscure national conflict or civil war quickly assumed global proportions. In the last 30 years, civil wars in Korea and Vietnam and national conflicts in the Mideast have embroiled the larger capitalist and socialist powers in deadly rivalry.

Of recent conflicts of this kind, the most bewildering is that taking place in the Horn of Africa, where having driven back the Somali army with Cuban and Soviet aid, the Ethiopians are now turning their attention to the war against the Eritrean independence movement.

The Eritrean conflict is bewildering because of its musical-chair pattern of changing allegiances. The Soviets and Cubans were formerly Eritrea's staunch allies: now the Soviets hint that the Eritrean movement is an arm of Arab imperialism. The U.S. used to count Ethiopia as its chief ally in black Africa; now it may join the Sudan and Saudi Arabia in backing the Eritreans.

But from the Eritrean's standpoint, the global dimensions of the conflict pale before the simple affront to their desires for independence.

### UN denies independence.

Along with Ethiopia, Somalia, and Libya, Eritrea was a former colony of Italy. Unlike them it was not granted independence after World War II.

The British seized Eritrea from the Italians in 1941 and held it until 1952, when the UN ruled in favor of a federation between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The Soviet Union contested the UN decision, but American pressure on behalf of Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie carried the day.

Selassie was then the main American ally in black Africa; he wanted Eritrea's mineral wealth and highly educated population, and because it gave Ethiopia ac-

cess to the sea. The U.S., for its part, had a key naval and communications base in Massawa on the Eritrean coast.

The UN did, however, grant Eritrea limited autonomy, with its own parliament, chief executive, and taxes, but Selassie chipped away at that until he finally annexed Eritrea in 1961.

The Eritrean independence movement began in 1957. In 1961 the ELF (Eritrean Liberation Front) was organized. In 1970, a leftwing group split from the ELF and formed the EPLF (Eritrean People's Liberation Front). Four years of civil war between the two organizations followed. It is often said that the Eritreans might have won their independence in the early '70s had it not been for the hostility between the two groups.

In 1974, Haile Selassie was overthrown by a group of army officers, organized in a military council of 120 called the Dergue. These officers undertook a land reform. Under the instigation of Gen. Aman Andom, one of their chief strategists, they also briefly entertained the notion of a negotiated settlement with the Eritreans. But the majority turned against Aman, who was arrested and killed. In January 1975, the Dergue launched a major offensive against the Eritreans.

Faced with growing unity between the ELF and EPLF, internal opposition, and a Somali-backed secessionist movement among the Somalis of the Ogaden, the Ethiopians steadily lost ground. In 1974, they controlled 50 percent of Eritrea. Today, they control only 5 percent.

With Cuban and Soviet aid, the Ethiopians finally drove the Somali army out of the Ogaden this March, and there is now widespread speculation that they are preparing a major Soviet-Cuban-backed counteroffensive against the Eritreans.

### A lawman turned outlaw.

Last week, Bereket Habte-Selassie, an Eritrean associated with the EPLF, visited Chicago to warn of a Cuban-Soviet backed counteroffensive against the Eritreans. Bereket believes that through political pressure the Cubans might be dissuaded from throwing their full forces into the conflict.

Bereket is presently a visiting professor of African law and politics at Howard University in Washington, D.C. Born in Eritrea in 1935, he had held Italian, British, and Ethiopian citizenship. He was educated in England and returned to Africa in 1957 to become a junior civil servant in the Ethiopian government. In 1961, he became the attorney general of Ethiopia.

Asked why he had agreed to become attorney general, Bereket said he didn't think he had any choice. Furthermore, he thought he could advance the Eritrean cause from within.

But in 1964, Bereket resigned because his role had become "intolerable." He left for UCLA to finish his doctorate. When he returned to teach, he was "banished" to the small town of Harar. He had become a "lawman turned outlaw."

In 1974, Bereket helped negotiate a truce between the ELF and the EPLF. He also advised his friend Gen. Aman Andom, who at his urging visited Eritrea in 1974. When Aman was killed, Bereket "started a trend." He became one of thousands of Eritreans living in Ethiopia to join the guerillas.

Bereket joined the EPLF rather than the ELF because he was impressed with its discipline and commitment to popular power. His own model for a future Eritrea resembles that of Mozambique, and he sees the EPLF as similar in philosophy and practice to FRELIMO, the Mozambican liberation organization. Instead of postponing the social revolution until the war's end, as ELF leaders urged, the EPLF has transformed the social structure as they went on: bringing land reform, education, health care, and popular rule in the wake of their victories.

As a member of the EPLF, Bereket organized an international relief fund for the 500,000 persons displaced by the war.

In 1976, to seek special care for his handicapped child, Bereket and his wife returned to the U.S. He describes himself, however, as always "subject to recall."

### Useful slogans.

I asked Bereket how he responded to the argument that Eritrea would, in the long run, be better off united with Ethiopia. Bereket acknowledged that in 1974 unity might have been possible had the Dergue been willing to negotiate. He also foresees a future time when a socialist Ethiopia and a socialist Eritrea might federate. But under the present circumstances, with Eritreans given no choice in the matter, nothing but independence is acceptable.

"Who decides it would be better in the long run?" he asked. "We don't deny the value of a greater kind of unity, but when they come to you with arms and say it is better for you to join, you must ask the question: 'For whose benefit?'"

Bereket is skeptical about the Dergue's claims to be "socialist" and "Marxist-Leninist." He knew the Ethiopian leader Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam when Mengistu was a Captain stationed in Harar. "I very much doubt if Mengistu heard the name of Karl Marx before November of 1974," Bereket said. "He was an ultranationalist, an intense man. That is all."

Bereket believes that the Dergue adopted socialist slogans because they were "egged on" by younger officers and student radicals. "The slogans have also become very useful in securing Soviet aid," he added.

"The government might even believe in such slogans," Bereket said, "but we must judge them by their actions." He cited their "red terror" against the EPRP (Eritrean People's Revolutionary party), whose principal demands have been negotiations with the Eritreans and a return of civilian rule. He also believes they cut short their land reform.

### A hegemonic exercise?

Bereket is also skeptical about Soviet intentions in the Horn of Africa. While they view their actions as "anti-imperialist," he views them as engaged in a "hegemonic exercise."

But he is most disturbed about a possible Cuban role. He recalled how many Eritrean guerillas were trained by Cubans, and how the Cuban revolution was an early model and inspiration. One of the Eritrean bases, he told me, is called *Sierra Maestra*.

In citing EPLF reports of recent Cuban involvement in battles around Asmara, Bereket noted that only 1,000 Cuban troops were reported to have been involved. That shows they are "troubled" about their involvement, and still have not made up their minds whether to intervene fully, Bereket said.

Without Cuban and Soviet intervention, Bereket believes the Eritreans would win their independence in short order. A meeting last month in Khartoum has cemented ties between the EPLF and ELF, and they have already proven their military superiority over the Ethiopian armies.

But if the Cubans and Russians intervene, things will not be easy. "If they do the same thing they did in the Ogaden," he said, "they will probably gain back some cities, but it will be at tremendous cost for them and for us."

"It will be a long war."

*The Cuban Information Office in Washington would make no comment on alleged Cuban involvement in Eritrea or the future Cuban role. But they said they would try to get in THESE TIMES an interview with a Cuban official who could clarify the Cuban position. If and when such an interview occurs, we will present it.*

## IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except for the fourth week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc. 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Illinois.

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This edition (Vol. 2, No. 23) published April 26, 1978 for newsstand sales April 26-May 2.



By John Norton

COLUMBIA, S.C.

**A** FORMER CAMPAIGN MANAGER for George Wallace is well on his way towards forging a progressive political coalition in this state that might propel him into the State House. Tom Turnipseed managed Wallace's 1968 presidential campaign and served as an aide to the Alabama governor. Now, he has rejected the racist stances that characterized the Wallace movement and has reached out to labor, blacks, environmentalists and a latent populist sentiment in hopes of winning the South Carolina Democratic gubernatorial nomination. In the process he has upset the traditional Democratic political structure of this state.

In the weeks following his Halloween campaign announcement, staged before power company offices in the state's six largest cities, a traditionally restrained press has freely quoted unidentified politicians who describe Turnipseed as "an inspired madman," "dangerous," and "demagogic."

"Turnipseed is a latter-day Huey Long," one Republican declared in a widely reprinted remark. "He's crazy as a damn bedbug, but crazy in a smart way."

Amidst doubts as to the sincerity of his political transformation, fears of his populist rhetoric and questions about his emotional stability, Turnipseed is well on his way to a chance for the governor's office.

Black leaders are divided about the former segregated academy organizer. "It would be a national disgrace and embarrassment for a former Wallace segregationist to come from Alabama and be elected governor of South Carolina by blacks," the senior member of the black legislative caucus told a reporter.

But Isaac Williams, state field representative for the NAACP, demurs: "No one is capable of examining a man's heart, so you have to look at his actions. We have been able to get Tom's support on many issues of interest to blacks... I think people aren't discrediting Tom's new convictions."

Political polls indicate Turnipseed is presently better known and more respected among voters than any of the other candidates now being mentioned as contenders in the June 1978 Democratic primary.

Supporters believe, and detractors fear, he may be able to organize the most broadly-based political coalition in state history, a coalition of blacks, labor, and middle-class suburbanites often dreamed of by Southern politicians.

#### "Forget, hell" school.

Born in Mobile in 1936, Turnipseed says he was educated in the "forget, hell" school of Southern sociology. "I remember during World War II down in Mobile, we had some Northern people move in behind us. I don't know where we got it from, but it was like we were supposed to fight them. We were taught in the public schools some real strong biased-type things. We were taught that black people were not really 'people' people. It was the worst kind of insulation and isolation."

Turnipseed was also exposed to Alabama's populist tradition, and he says he developed a general resentment toward arbitrary power and privilege at an early age. His father was an entomologist; when Turnipseed was ten, the family moved to Virginia where his father took a job developing oil-based insecticides for Shell Oil Company.

"We lived there about two years and then all of a sudden Shell created the Shell Chemical Company, some big corporate move, you know, and all of my daddy's colleagues were told, 'You don't have a job anymore.' And here he is with three young kids, up in Virginia, an Alabama boy without a job. My father wasn't a very articulate man, just very good at his research. I never will forget how disillusioned he was with the corporation and the idea that the bottom line is everything."

Turnipseed's father found a job with North Carolina State University helping

# ONCE RACIST, NOW POPULIST, TOM TURNIPSEED TAKES ON S. CAROLINA



Tom Turnipseed ran George Wallace's '68 campaign. Now he admits he was racist and is out to build a populist political coalition in South Carolina.

Wilkes County, N.C., farmers develop a commercial apple crop. At age 16, Turnipseed experienced the first of three emotional breakdowns and was hospitalized for three weeks for treatment of mental depression. (Details of his psychiatric treatment were released recently after opponents "leaked" the information to the press.)

"I just got depressed," he says. "I was president of my class in high school and playing football and doing everything, and then all of a sudden I started withdrawing. It was a situation of not being able to cope with society as it was."

Turnipseed played football on scholarship at a North Carolina junior college, then joined the military. Two years later he enrolled as an undergraduate in history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In 1958 and again in 1959

he was hospitalized for depression.

"Always in late winter," he recalls. "It was a terrible experience, but I think I'm stronger today because of it. I found out what I have to do to be happy is to become totally involved in society and absolutely totally involved in helping people."

In the early '60s Turnipseed set out to help white Southerners. He finished law school at Chapel Hill and moved to Barnwell, S.C., where he accepted a post as director of the struggling South Carolina Independent Schools Association, a loose-knit coalition of segregated private schools organized in anticipation of court-ordered desegregation.

"I just felt like it was another example of the South being set upon," he explained recently. "I was a racist, no doubt about that. And I'm sorry for it. I felt instinctively that the South was being done

wrong, but I didn't really understand the reason. Now I understand and totally believe that the biggest problem we had was being an economic colony. And the thing that has helped perpetuate it has been the racial thing—keeping people divided on race, teaching white people to be poor and proud and hate black people."

Turnipseed left South Carolina in 1967 and joined the Wallace presidential campaign. "I was attracted to his populism. He was a great deal more of a populist than a lot of people realize, but it was exclusionary to black people to a large extent and that was totally wrong."

Turnipseed served as Wallace's national campaign director in 1968 and was instrumental in organizing the petition drives that helped place Wallace on the presidential ballot in 50 states. After the defeat, Turnipseed stayed on to organize Wallace's successful bid for governor and to lay groundwork for the 1972 presidential race.

He left Wallace in 1971 for reasons that remain cloudy. Turnipseed says he was turned off by the political intriguers who surrounded the governor. Some accounts say Turnipseed was fired after he told *Parade* magazine he would "make Cornelia the Jackie Kennedy of the rednecks," but Wallace has always insisted they parted on good terms.

#### Taxpayers Association.

Shortly after his return to South Carolina, Turnipseed organized the South Carolina Taxpayers Association and became its first and only executive director. In press releases he described the group as the foundation of a grassroots movement to return control of government to taxpayers.

In the beginning a strong conservative influence was apparent within the group, and Turnipseed continued to be attracted to Wallace. After the Maryland assassination attempt and Wallace's decision to withdraw from the presidential race, Turnipseed tried to organize a draft-Wallace movement in South Carolina.

The Taxpayers Association served as Turnipseed's first forum for attacks on the political and economic establishment, and his first assault was on the South Carolina Public Service Commission (PSC). The commissioners, Turnipseed said, were dominated by a small group of senior state senators who controlled appointments to the PSC and who were themselves influenced by large retainer fees from utilities. The payment of retainers to legislators by regulated utilities has been an integral part of Turnipseed's rhetoric in three campaigns for public office.

Turnipseed says the formation of the Taxpayers Association marked the turning point in his attitude toward blacks. "I'd never really known any black people. When I got to know them through my work with the Taxpayers, I just said, my God, what have we done? I started thinking how it would be to be black. To endure what they've endured. I began to realize that blacks and whites were going to have to get together to change things."

Turnipseed began to articulate what has become the underlying theme in all of his battles with the power structure. The South, he said, has been under the control of outside economic forces, epitomized by the New York financial structure headed by David Rockefeller. These forces control the flow of money and use this power to exploit the South, to keep wages low, to keep unions out and to encourage the divisiveness among poor blacks and whites that serves to maintain a cheap labor market.

At rate hike hearings, Turnipseed closely questioned power company executives and was able to document a series of financial ties between Northern banks and state power companies. He charged that rate hike requests were a direct result of the banks' conspiracy to reap excessive profits from the Southern colony.

In the spring of 1972 Turnipseed made a well-received speech before the state NAACP in which he pled for black-white unity. The remarks by a former Wallace operative attracted national media attention; Turnipseed was interviewed on the CBS

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## IN THE NATION

## LEGISLATION

## The arms budget is challenged

By Brad Karkkainen

**B**Y MID-MAY, CONGRESS MUST decide how to spend some \$300 billion — the “controllable” portion of a half-trillion dollar federal budget. To no one’s surprise, the lion’s share of that budget will again go to the Pentagon, as it has every year since World War II.

But just how much the Pentagon will get—and how much will go for job-creation, economic conversion, solar energy and rebuilding the nation’s decaying railbeds—promises to be the subject of dramatic congressional confrontations with implications for federal budgets and policies in the 1980s.

“Since the end of our involvement in Indochina adequate funding for domestic economic and social programs has been held hostage to unrealistic military demands that exceed our defense needs,” charges Sen. George McGovern (D-SD).

The Carter administration’s budget request for fiscal year ’79 bears out McGovern’s charge. Carter seeks a record \$128.4 billion for the military. This represents a \$10 billion increase—3.4 percent real growth—over FY ’78, while domestic spending barely keeps pace with inflation. And the administration plans to increase military spending at 3 percent annually into the 1980s, even while “holding the line” on domestic spending.

Left members of Congress, led by McGovern and Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-MD, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus), will challenge this trend. They are seeking to cut \$4 to \$6 billion from the administration’s military budget request, and to transfer the savings to domestic programs.

Mitchell and McGovern will wage their fight through “transfer amendments” to the First Budget Resolution in the Senate in late April and the House in early May. The Budget Resolution sets ceilings on broad categories of federal spending. By lowering the ceiling in a category judged to be excessive (like the military) and raising ceilings for under-funded categories, a “transfer amendment” can effectively redirect federal spending priorities through a single legislative device.

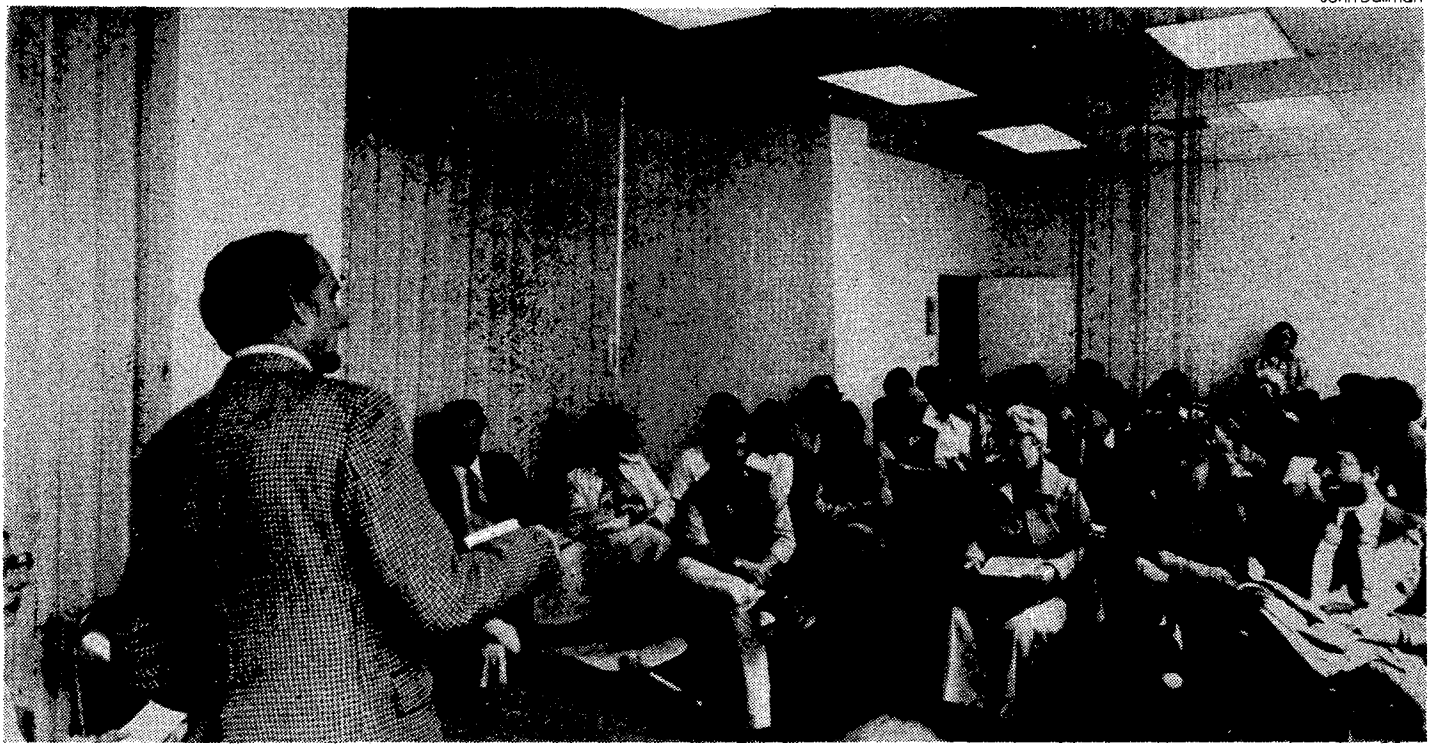
McGovern’s Senate transfer amendment will emphasize additional funds for job-creation, economic conversion (to protect laid-off defense production workers), solar energy development, and rail and mass transit upgrading and revitalization.

## Prospects for the transfer proposal.

Proponents of the transfer concept believe that their support is growing. “The combined Washington and grassroots effort has become much more sophisticated in the last year,” says Vicki Otten of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), a leading lobbyist in the transfer campaign.

Earlier this year, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, Urban League, National Education Association, UAW, International Association of Machinists and AFSCME argued that “trimming unnecessary defense expenditures will generate an important source of funds for meeting our vital needs at home.” The NAACP and the AFL-CIO’s Industrial Union Department are on record in support of new budget priorities, as are city councils in St. Louis, Buffalo, San Francisco, Pittsburgh and other cities.

The Washington-based Priorities Working Group of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, which includes representatives of urban, farm and rural, minority, labor, religious, peace and public interest constituencies plans to lobby congressional offices as the budget debate approaches.



Sen. George McGovern, who is leading the fight for the Transfer Amendment in the Senate, addresses the Priorities Working Group of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.

But despite the broad constituency for the transfer concept, many Members of Congress hesitate to oppose military spending, especially in an election year. They fear the well-organized right, and what they see as a rightward drift among constituents who have flooded them with mail opposing the Panama Canal Treaties.

“We’ve always had to counter the Soviet ‘threat’ argument in working on the military budget,” says ADA’s Vicki Otten. “But the right-wing is raising issues above and beyond the direct threat from the Soviets.... In the Panama Canal debate they’re arguing for a new element to national security—our right to intervene” in the Third World. This, Otten says, adds pressure for increased military spending.

“They’re just not hearing enough from our side,” Otten warns. “Unless we do something, and do something very quickly, we’ll see regression on a variety of issues.”

Across the country, activity in support of the Mitchell and McGovern transfer amendments by peace and foreign policy activists in organizations like the Mobilization for Survival, Clergy and Laity Concerned, the American Friends Service

Committee, and Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom is increasing. Like the national campaign, local efforts are seeking to embrace a broader constituency of labor, minorities, churches, progressive public officials, community organizations, environmental and energy activists.

“In the course of three transfer campaigns the constituency has gradually broadened,” says Mark Shanahan of the Northern Ohio Project on National Priorities. Shanahan, a former anti-war activist and a veteran of two previous budget fights—in 1976, when Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman (D-NY) offered the first transfer amendment and in 1977, when Rep. Parren Mitchell offered his. Shanahan’s Northern Ohio Project is unique—a strong regional coalition of labor, religious, peace and public interest groups that reflects the potential breadth of the transfer campaign.

“One of the most valuable things about the transfer strategy is that it allows you to address two of the most fundamental problems in this country—inflation and unemployment,” Shanahan says. “Once people begin to realize the negative impact of military spending in

those areas, they respond very favorably to the transfer concept.” But “it’s a complex issue, one that has to challenge the basic assumptions of American foreign policy—so it’s going to take time,” he cautions.

## National campaign.

In Chicago, Atlanta, Denver, Portland, St. Petersburg, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, New York and dozens of other cities, local organizations are forming around the transfer idea. In some cities local coalitions are already in place; in others the long process of educating and influencing public attitudes, and translating those attitudes into organization and active pressure on Congress is beginning.

But in the short term, the specter of the right looms large. “People aren’t shifting to the right nearly as much as Congresspeople think they are,” says transfer organizer Shanahan. “But the right-wing is well-financed and well-organized, and progressive elements, ranging from progressive Democrats on out, just haven’t done as good a job organizing.”

Brad Karkkainen works with the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy in Washington.

## NUCLEAR

## N.Y. ban on nuclear shipments upheld

By Susan Lynne Berger

**O**N APRIL 4TH, NEW YORK OFFICIALS and citizen and environmentalist groups won a victory in upholding the two-year old ban on radioactive nuclear waste shipments through the city. The U.S. Department of Transportation ruled that there was no current federal regulation concerning the transportation of nuclear wastes, and that New York City had legal authority to impose the ban.

This is the first decision in which the Transportation Department upheld a municipal ban directly affecting the regulation of interstate commerce.

The decision leaves open the possibility of future Department of Transportation regulations governing the shipment of nuclear wastes. These could supercede New York’s ban.

At a public hearing held last November, 80 speakers expressed outrage about the danger to public health in the possi-

**The nuclear waste shippers feared that if N.Y.’s ban was upheld, other cities would enact similar bans.**

bility that radioactive waste material could—by accident or sabotage—be released onto the streets of New York City.

The April 4th hearing was held in response to a challenge to the New York City regulation by the Associated Universities Incorporated (an organization engaged in nuclear energy research). Associated Universities saw the ban as an attack on nuclear power research. AUI serves as the board of directors for Brookhaven National Laboratory in Upton, Long Island, and also operates the facility. As such it is both a consignee and shipper of radioactive waste materials.

Before the city’s health code became operational (January 1976), radioactive nuclear waste (spent fuel elements) was transported from Brookhaven through the streets of Queens and Manhattan to their final destination at the U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration’s nuclear reprocessing center at Savannah River, S.C. The shipments were made in a series of about six, twice a year.

N. Peter Rathvon, a spokesman for Brookhaven, said, “Once New York does it, they’ll all ban shipments all over, and we’ll never get off the island.” He cited as an example New London, Conn., which is the terminus of a ferry that runs there from Orient Point, L.I., on which the wastes were carried after the New York council voted the ban. New London is now considering banning future shipments. After half a dozen shipments over the Orient Point-New London Ferry in 1976, the laboratory began to store its wastes on its premises.

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## CIVIL WRONGS

# Protestors urge overturn of Bakke

By Ken Cummins

WASHINGTON

**M**ORE THAN 15,000 BLACKS, whites, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian-Americans, women, blue collar workers, students, gays and handicapped people rallied and marched here April 15 to protest the Bakke "reverse discrimination" case currently awaiting decision by the U.S. Supreme Court.

"The Bakke case is just another tool for keeping people in economic slavery," Imani Kazana, a representative of the Wilmington 10 Defense Committee, told the large crowd of demonstrators. "First it was chains and whips. Then lynch mobs. Now it's reverse discrimination cases and incarceration, but it's just more sophisticated methods of the same old thing."

"It becomes harder and harder for the people in power to retain this repressive economic system when blacks and minorities of all colors become educated."

The focus of the protest—the largest civil rights demonstration in the nation's capital in ten years—is the case of Allan Bakke, a white engineer who was denied admission to the University of California at Davis Medical School and 12 other medical schools in 1973 and '74. Bakke, on the advice of a UC-Davis official, sued the university, charging reverse discrimination in the school's policy of reserving 16 of the 100 medical school slots each year for qualified minority students from low-income families.

The California Supreme Court upheld Bakke's claim and ordered that he be admitted at UC-Davis. The case was appealed by the university to the Supreme Court and an opinion is expected soon.

The impending decision has sparked demonstrations in Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, Detroit and Seattle in recent weeks. More rallies protesting a possible outcome favorable to Bakke are planned for the first two weekends in May in New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Boston and Atlanta.

Speaker after speaker at the Washington demonstration stressed that the Bakke case is merely a symptom of a more serious economic problem.

"The Bakke decision is just the tip of the iceberg," said Arthur Kinoy, head of the People's Alliance, an activist group working for the cause of political prisoners in this country. "It represents a major conspiracy on the part of the ruling class to shift the major burdens of the economic problem, which they cannot solve, onto the backs of working people."

A statement issued by Bill Roundtree and Jimmy Garrett, coordinators of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, charged that "Allan Bakke's claim to being denied an opportunity to study medicine at the University of California at Davis because of a special minority admissions program reflects the increasing crisis of the U.S. dollar, of the internationalization of productive capital, and the diminishing capacity of the U.S. economy to grow."

"The result of stagnation of production and economic downturn is fewer slots in education and employment," the statement read. "There is less space for blacks and minorities who were allowed to move up, expand with the U.S. economy in the 1950s and '60s."

A recent report by the national office of the Urban League showed that minority enrollment in medical schools in 1970 amounted to 2.8 percent. That figure rose to 10 percent by 1974, the report found, but slipped back to 8.9 percent by 1976.

Although overall unemployment dipped nearly a percentage point last year, government figures show that unemployment

Anticipating a Supreme Court ruling ordering an end to affirmative action in government programs, Attorney General Griffin Bell has sent a letter to all cabinet members asking for a review of their anti-bias programs.

among blacks rose 1.6 percent. *Business Week* recently estimated that three-fourths of the black youths in inner cities are unemployed, and minorities continue to lag far behind whites in average income.

Junius Williams, president of the National Bar Association, said that if the Supreme Court upholds Bakke's position and overturns university policies guaranteeing access to higher education by minority students, "the set-aside programs will be next." Set-aside refers to federally-funded programs in which a percentage of the money must go toward the employment and benefit of minorities.

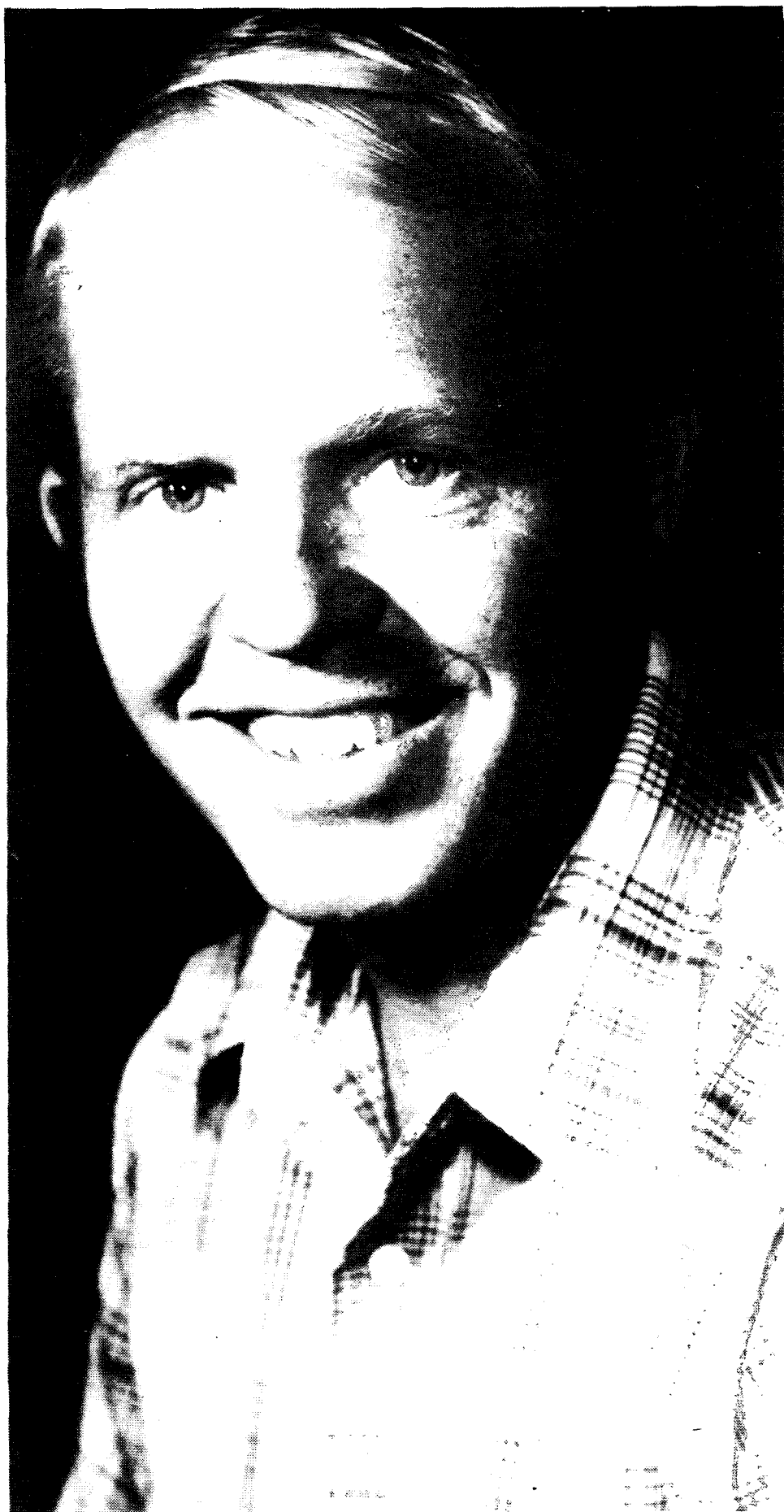
Recently, Attorney General Griffin Bell sent a letter to all cabinet members requesting a review of affirmative action programs in anticipation of a possible Supreme Court decision ordering an end to favoritism for minorities in government programs. Bell's letter stated that at least 26 reverse discrimination lawsuits will be filed immediately if the Bakke decision is upheld. In addition, several hundred cases challenging minority quotas in employment, housing, education and health care currently are in the courts throughout the country.

"We won't go back! Send Bakke back!" marchers chanted as they circled the Supreme Court. Many of the demonstrators were students who had been admitted to colleges under affirmative action programs forged out of the 1964 and '65 Civil Rights Acts and the social protests of the 1960s. A student from Columbia University in New York City reflected that creation of a black studies program—one of the gains from the violent 1968 riots at that campus that was dropped from the curriculum in the 1970s—again is a controversial issue at the university.

"The ruling powers in this country have set out to destroy the simple democratic and economic gains of the 1960s," Kinoy told the demonstrators. "You must organize to defend and protect these gains. They weren't given to you by that court over there. They were not given to you by the ruling powers in these buildings. You won them and you won them in the streets. This demonstration here today represents a rebirth of militancy in this country."

Grantland Johnson, an official of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, said that different minority groups previously had struggled separately, "but we've never struggled together until today."

Groups endorsing and supporting the demonstration included the National Lawyers Guild, the Puerto Rican and Chicano Construction Workers of the Bronx, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Center for United Labor Action, Coalition on Immigration and Full Employment, National Organization for Women, Workers World party, Communist Labor party, Mexican Workers League, War Resisters League and the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee of New York.



Alan Bakke has shunned publicity, but nevertheless has been honored by rightwingers for his service in bring "reverse discrimination" to public consciousness.

The animosity that has existed in the past among some minority groups was not evident at the rally.

Garrett said this new coalition of activist groups and causes signifies an emerging movement "to continue the struggle for civil rights and to change the political climate in this country by challenging the regrowth of racism and sexism that is occurring."

Despite his avoidance of publicity and interviews, Bakke has become a symbol of the right. Last month, the American Conservative Union and the Young Americans for Freedom voted him a public service award for "bringing the issue of reverse discrimination to the public consciousness."

Ken Cummins is a reporter in Washington.

## Radioactive waste

Continued from page 4.

Dr. Leonard Solon, director of the Bureau of Radiation Control for New York City Department of Health and author of the New York regulation, warns that a single breach of a container releasing only one percent of its radioactivity would have a potential for "thousands of prompt deaths and hundreds of thousands of latent cancer deaths."

Rathvon of Brookhaven Laboratory has contrary thoughts and feels that "the casks [which store nuclear-spent fuel] are essentially impervious to any accident that could creditably occur." The casks weigh 13 tons each and are covered with stainless steel plates with 12-inch lead shielding. A lid of the same construction is held in place with 12 bolts.

So far there have been four strength tests made on these casks. In one series of tests, casks were dropped 30 feet onto an unyielding surface of concrete topped

with steel plates, and then dropped 40 inches onto a six-inch spike. The casks were then subjected to a 30-minute roasting of 1475 degrees Fahrenheit, and immediately were submerged under three feet of water for 24 hours. No leakage occurred.

Another interested party is the Long Island Lighting Company, an electric power utility that operates in Nassau and Suffolk County on Long Island and has three nuclear power generating stations either under construction or planned for the future.

It is expected that Brookhaven will appeal the decision. They are asking the Justice Department to seek a revocation of the law in the courts or work with the city in reaching acceptable limitations.

Officials of the Brookhaven National Laboratory say that this decision is a serious threat to nuclear research in the United States.



# There's Gonna Be A SHOWDOWN

*The same year that has brought Americans the threat of the neutron bomb has also witnessed the development of a large-scale anti-nuclear energy movement. That movement is on the offensive this spring.*

*Brought together under the auspices of the Mobilization for Survival, a broad based coalition of national and local groups ranging from the seasoned War Resisters League to the still young Clamshell Alliance, the anti-nuclear spring offensive intends to let the world know—by peaceful protests and nonviolent assaults on nuclear facilities—that the use of nuclear power as a fuel and for weapons will not go unheeded.*

*The demonstrations consist of four national actions—Barnwell, S.C.; Rocky Flats, Colo.; Bangor, Wash.; and Seabrook, N.H.—and various regional actions. Actions have been organized locally, with some assistance from the national Mobilization for Survival.*

*The centerpiece of the spring actions will be a series of actions around the UN Special Session on Disarmament that convenes May 23 and continues for five weeks. The first international gathering of its kind, the special session was initiated by a group of non-aligned nations including 86 states, eight observer states and eight guest states.*

*The actions this spring are different from anti-nuclear protests in the late '50s and early '60s when Ban the Bomb was the anti-nuclear organization and protestors refused to go inside when the air raid drills sounded. These activists are directly confronting nuclear facilities, often using tactics of mass civil disobedience.*

*The protestors have another edge over their counterparts of 20 years ago. For a long time it was believed that there was a safe use of nuclear power. Now that people who were exposed to very limited degrees of radiation are dying of cancer it is harder to believe that nuclear energy can be used as a safe energy source. The thousands of people that will show up at each demonstration are demanding just that—no more nukes.*

—Liz Price

## IN ROCKY FLATS, COLORADO

By Timothy Lange

On April 29 a coalition of peace advocates, environmentalists, medical professionals, scientists and other concerned citizens will demonstrate here at the government's Rocky Flats nuclear weapons complex in the first of a nationwide series of spring protests against facilities engaged in research or production of various phases in the nuclear cycle. Rocky Flats, operated under contract by Rockwell International, fashions nuclear bomb "triggers" and has done preliminary work on the neutron bomb.

Endorsed by more than 40 groups ranging from the Cactus Alliance to the American Friends Service Committee, the Rocky Flats protest is, unlike the widely reported occupation of the Seabrook, N.H., nuclear plant site exactly one year earlier, and other anti-nuclear takeovers, "designed primarily as a legal demonstration," according to one of the organizers, Judy Hurley of the Mobilization for Survival of Boulder.

Although she and other protest leaders expect "more than a thousand" demonstrators to show up at Rocky Flats, only 100 or less, including anti-war activist Daniel Ellsberg, are likely to join a blockade of a railroad spur that leads into the city-sized weapons plant.

"The blockade is meant to be a symbolic act because nobody wants to meet a shipment of plutonium for health reasons," said another organizer, Pam Solo, a staff member of the four-year-old Rocky Flats Action Group, which is a prime mover in the demonstration and in educating about the hazards posed by the plant.

Those who take part in civil disobedience on the tracks will carry with them a banner signed with the names of protestors who do not participate in the blockade. The banner will also be taken to the United Nations during its Special Session on Disarmament later this summer.

Besides the blockade, the two-day protest here is scheduled to include workshops and appearances by local and national figures.

Solo, Hurley and another protest leader, Judy Danielson of the American Friends Service Committee, said the demonstration will be stronger than it might have been because of the interest of local environmentalists, whom they feel are beginning to understand the connection between building nuclear bombs and nuclear power plants. The three women's own anti-nuclear activism was spurred originally by anti-war concerns, but they see the whole nuclear cycle as a danger. "We're already under nuclear attack," said Solo.

Rockwell officials who were contacted by IN THESE TIMES would not say what their response would be to the blockade portion of the April 29th demonstration. A spokesman said the company has kept in touch with "federal agents" ever since the plans for the demonstration became known.

Since it began operating the plant three years ago, Rockwell has been very conscious of its public image, insisting that the bomb components it makes are ("unfortunately") needed for Americans' protection, initiating once-monthly public tours of unrestricted parts of the plant and once even sending a water truck to quench the thirst of 250 protesters just

outside the gates.

Built at the height of the Cold War in 1952, the weapons complex was run by Dow Chemical under the auspices of the Atomic Energy Commission until 1974 when the Energy Research and Development Administration and Rockwell took over. Until 1955 Denver-area residents didn't even know the facility made weapons.

Dow operated with maximum secrecy, enabling it to cover ineptitude and to brag about its safety record without admitting numerous "mistakes" and near catastrophes. Together with the AEC, Dow also lied about levels of contamination caused by "unplanned releases of radiation."

In 1957, for example, officials claimed a spontaneous fire at the facility caused "no spread of radioactive contamination of consequence" outside the plant. Years later, this statement was admitted to be untrue.

As revealed in October 1975 by an investigative task force established by Colorado Gov. Richard Lamm and Rep. Tim Wirth, whose 2nd District encompasses Rocky Flats, more than 200 fires have occurred at the plant, including one in 1969 that consumed more than \$20 million of plutonium.

Rusty barrels leaked radioactive oil into surrounding soil in 1968, but officials kept this secret for years. About 11,000 acres of land around Rocky Flats have been radioactively contaminated in one manner or another during the plant's operation.

When radioactive tritium was discovered in the nearby city of Broomfield's water supply five years ago, Dow and the AEC flatly denied the material could have come from Rocky Flats. Their claim was false.

After pointing out the plant should never have been built so near a dense urban center in the first place, the Lamm-Wirth Task Force concluded its 1975 report with a recommendation that Rocky Flats be phased out and its functions carried on in some out-of-the-way place.

But an environmental impact statement (EIS) issued eight months ago by ERDA argued the plant is safe, that the cost of relocating it would be \$2.2 billion plus a loss of \$114 million to the Denver economy and the 2,800 jobs Rocky Flats provides.

One goal of Rocky Flats opponents has been to convince workers there that they support new jobs and retraining if the plant is closed, but this attempt to bridge the gap has been unsuccessful. Since Rockwell's takeover, some employees have become vocal participants in community discussions about the plant, asserting that Rocky Flats opponents

don't know what they're talking about and that the plant is safe and necessary for national security.

ERDA's EIS claimed consequences of contact between plutonium and humans is "necessarily indirect and highly uncertain," that radiation from the plant is less than normal background radiation and that—with the exception of accidents that have contaminated 171 Rocky Flats Workers over the past 26 years of the facility's operation—employees at the plant face little health hazard.

ERDA's analysis has been challenged by the results of still-incomplete studies. One, an on-going survey of mortality rates and causes among 5,400 former employees, has so far shown similar results to a survey conducted by Dr. Samuel Milham on deceased employees of the government's reactor complex at Hanford, Wash. Though the Flats survey results are extremely tentative because of the small sample of death certificates examined to date, Rocky Flats workers appear to have a higher rate of cancer deaths than is normal.

There are also the controversial studies of Dr. Carl Johnson, the director of health for Jefferson County, in which Rocky Flats is located. When housing developers asked for a rezoning of land near Rocky Flats two years ago, Johnson irked them, his own health board and officials by claiming soil samples he had taken from the sites to be rezoned contained plutonium levels 3,300 times higher than normal. Other samplers, including some from the Colorado Health Department, said Johnson was in error and his testing methods inappropriate. Despite almost being censured by the Jeffco Health Board for releasing his findings to the media over the board's objections, Johnson has continued his studies.

In early April, the doctor announced early results of a survey of birth defects among infants in Arvada, a bedroom community of 80,000 near Rocky Flats. Congenital malformations coded at birth, Johnson claimed, were 14.5 per 1,000 births in Arvada and 10.4 per 1,000 in areas of the county more distant from the plant. In earlier studies, he found significant increases in leukemia and lung cancer rates among people living closer to the plant.

His studies, he now claims, show Rocky Flats has a potential for creating 160 extra annual cancer deaths and 1.5 percent additional birth defects in the Denver area. ERDA's EIS, on the contrary, said only one extra cancer death and one extra birth defect a year are likely to result because of the plant's radioactive releases. ■  
*Timothy Lange works as a printer and free-lance writer in Denver.*

## IN BARNWELL, S. CAROLINA

By Bob McMahon

When it was begun in 1971 the Barnwell nuclear fuel reprocessing plant here was seen as a triumph of technology, the basis for a new stage of development in the nuclear power industry.

Seven years and \$250 million later, the plant remains unfinished. Whether it will ever be completed or used for the purposes for which it was built is in question.

The Allied General Nuclear Services or Barnwell plant was one of three com-

mercial reprocessing plants licensed by the Atomic Energy Commission. The plants were to accept used nuclear fuel and separate plutonium and reusable uranium from nuclear wastes. The recycled uranium would stretch available supplies, now estimated as sufficient for only the next two decades. The plutonium would go into breeder reactors, where it would provide energy while converting uranium-238 into more plutonium.

Plans for reprocessing and breeder reactors drew steady fire from nuclear opponents, who pointed to safety problems



with the breeder and to the danger of diversion of plutonium for nuclear weapons.

Meanwhile, economic and technological problems mounted for commercial reprocessing. One reprocessing site in Morris, Ill., was abandoned after a \$64 million investment when it was found unworkable. A second, in West Valley, N.Y., was ordered closed because of severe contamination problems, leaving the state of New York with a half billion dollar clean-up bill. Barnwell's cost soared from \$70 million to \$250 million, with at least as much further investment required for facilities to solidify plutonium and radioactive wastes.

The final blow for Barnwell came when President Carter ordered a halt to reprocessing and plutonium fuel plans while the U.S. seeks international safeguards against nuclear proliferation. Today, Allied General Nuclear Services officials admit they do not expect to see the plant operate commercially.

Barnwell is currently being kept alive by \$14 million in federal grants to research proliferation resistant safeguards at the plant and to evaluate its usefulness for handling alternate nuclear fuels.

Supporters of the Barnwell plant in Congress, like Idaho Sen. Frank Church, chairman of the Senate energy research and development subcommittee, have proposed the plant be taken over to be operated under international controls as a model reprocessing center for fuel from all over the world.

The project's opponents see a federal takeover of the plant as an imminent danger, which would make stopping operations of the plant much more difficult.

To dramatize the opposition the Palmetto Alliance, a coalition of South Carolina environmental groups, has called for a national demonstration at the plant April 30-May 1. A legal rally in the Barnwell community on April 30 will be followed by a nonviolent "blockade" of the plant gates leading to arrest.

Palmetto Alliance activists are hopeful of a good reception in the nearby communities. Already, reports activist Rita Fellers, "We've met a good many people in the area that we didn't know were there. They felt like voices crying in a wilderness."

The counties around Barnwell have been a center for farm strike activity in South Carolina, Fellers says: "After the farm strike, when protesters were arrested, the idea of direct action and civil disobedience is less alien."

The Barnwell area is a center of nuclear facilities, with the reprocessing site, the military's Savannah River Plant and a commercial dump for low-level wastes all clustered nearby. According to Emmet Laitala, "There's already some concern about radiation—people are seeing mutant animals and wondering," although specific knowledge of the dangers from Barnwell is low.

The Barnwell reprocessing Plant will be allowed to give off higher levels of "routine" low-level radiation than any other nuclear plant operating, environmental activists charge. Dr. Ernest Sternglass, director of the Radiological Department of the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, has concluded from the projected emissions that people living around the plant will be exposed to regular radiation doses many times higher than "safe" levels set by the government.

"It simply means people exposed around the Barnwell plant won't live as long. The life span will be cut by the early onset of stroke, heart disease or cancer," Sternglass says.

Possible damage from accidental release of nuclear materials held at Barnwell will also be higher than from an ordinary power plant. After five years of operation, Barnwell will hold approximately the radioactivity that would be left from a large, full-scale nuclear war.

Organizers for the Barnwell demonstrations, whose theme is "Draw the line against a nuclear economy," hope to draw a large number of activists from around the South to demonstrate their opposition to the proliferation of nuclear plants in that region of the country.

**Bob McMahon** is a free-lance writer in North Carolina.



*This mutant goat is evidence of the genetic threat of radioactive pollution emanating from the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Plant.*

## CALENDAR

**April 28-29: National Action at Rocky Flats, CO.** Saturday: 10:00 a.m. Rally at Federal Building, Downtown Denver. Speakers include Stokely Carmichael, Sidney Lens and Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA).

11:30 a.m. Car pools to Rocky Flats for gathering at west gate of nuclear plant.

1:00 p.m. Rally at Rocky Flats for "conversion of Rocky Flats and nuclear hazards." Speakers include: Dr. Helen Caldicott of Boston's Children's Hospital, Daniel Ellsberg and Richard Barnet of the Institute for Policy Studies. At this time there will be, according to Judy Danielson, an organizer of the rally, "a symbolic walk to the railroad tracks where the nuclear weaponry passes through once a week." Danielson considers that "this will be the only act of civil disobedience the entire weekend."

Sunday: In the morning there will be a "Celebration of Life" at the Denver Civic Center. The afternoon will be taken up by workshops on organizing tactics.

*For further information contact: Rocky Flats National Action, 1428 Lafayette, Denver, CO 80218 or (303) 832-1676.*

**April 30-May 1: National Action at Barnwell, SC.** Saturday will be a day of preparation and an encampment near the plant. On Sunday there will be a symbolic storming of the plants' gates to deliver the human petition. The petitioners have vowed to stay until the plant is converted to non-atomic uses or until they are arrested.

*For further information contact: Palmetto Alliance, 328 Whaley, Columbia, SC 80218 or (802) 254-8132.*

**May 21: Survival Festival to End the Arms Race in Hollywood Bowl, Los Angeles, CA**

Two days before the UN Special Session on Disarmament opens Los Angeles will be the site of a "festival to demand an end to the arms race." The festival will include Helen Caldicott, Peter, Paul and Mary, Holly Near, Keith Carridine and Tom Paxton.

*For information contact: Alliance for Survival, 5529 West Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90010 or (213) 937-0240.*

**May 22: Mass Civil Disobedience at Trident Base at Bangor, WA.**

The Trident submarine can carry enough nuclear warheads to annihilate an entire country. The action at the Trident base in Bangor will begin on May 20 when civil disobedience training begins. According to Betty Grant of Live Without Trident, "The action is being organized to the point of being arrested." On May 22 the demonstrators will move on to the base to await arrest.

**May 22: Support Demonstration by Trident Conversion Campaign at Groton, CT.**

This will be the East Coast link to Bangor action. The theme of this action, according to Chris Nieman of CNVA, centers on security: "There is no security for people to have food or housing because of what our priorities in this country are."

The demonstration will convene in New Haven, Conn., and will be followed by a walk to the submarine base.

**May 27: Mass Rally in San Francisco.**

The rally will begin with a march from Union Square to United Nations Plaza where the UN are scheduled to run from

10 a.m. to 3 p.m. and will include speakers and singers.

*For further information contact Alliance for Survival, 1360 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94103 or (415) 626-6796.*

**May 27: Mass Demonstration at the United Nations, New York, NY.**

The march will begin both at 86th Street and Broadway and at Union Square and the marchers will converge at the United Nations for "a day of massive actions for disarmament."

*For information contact: War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York 10012 or (212) 228-0450.*

**June 12: Civil Disobedience at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, New York, NY.**

The War Resisters League has called for the June 12 action if, as one spokesperson said, "our demands are not met at the UN Special Session." The participants will try to get as close to the U.S. Mission as possible and when the police begin to set up barricades they will refuse to leave and face arrest.

**June 24: Occupation at Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant Site, NH.**

The Clamshell Alliance is sponsoring another occupation of the proposed nuclear power plant at Seabrook. While plans for the demonstration are still in the planning stage, affinity groups, like last year, are going to be the basic unit of organization. Affinity groups are required to undergo nonviolent training together.

*For information contact: Clamshell Alliance, 62 Congress Street, Portsmouth, NH 03801 or (603) 436-5414.*



## U.S./CHILE



# Banks under attack for Chile loans

By Jeffrey Stein

WASHINGTON

**P**PRIVATE BANKS WHOSE LOAN policies appear to be undermining congressional efforts to impose sanctions on human rights violators have come under double-barreled attack on Capitol Hill. Simultaneously, details have surfaced on the largest U.S. bank loan package to Chile since the 1973 coup that installed dictator Augusto Pinochet.

On April 12, Rep. Henry Reuss (D-WI), House Banking Committee chairman, asked the presidents of six large American banks to explain why they have lent Chile almost a billion dollars at a time when Congress has been cutting aid to that country because of human rights violations. "Your lending actions," Reuss said in a telegram, "are not helpful to the U.S. policy of restricting loans to countries found to be in violations of human rights.... I hope you will give the American people a full explanation."

Just the day before, Rep. Thomas Harkin (D-IA), a consistent standard bearer for human rights in the Congress, announced that he planned to introduce legislation that would require American banks to disclose their loans to human rights violators to the Congress every three months. "Banks should not be allowed to undermine our efforts to reestablish basic human rights in these countries and at the same time pretend they are aiding our endeavors," Harkin said in a statement released April 11.

Harkin also took aim at a statement made by Jimmy Carter at his Brazilian press conference at the end of March that free enterprise was compatible with the administration's quest for human rights abroad. "I cannot agree with the recent Carter assertion...that the American business community supports completely the commitment of our nation to human rights," Harkin said. "Such statements are...incompatible with the facts."

## A green light to Pinochet.

The two lawmakers' actions were touched off by a private study released this week which showed that six large American banks had put together lending packages totaling \$927 million to Chile over the past five years since the military dictatorship came to power there. That study did not include the latest loan for Chile, a \$210 million package involving 40 U.S. and foreign banks led by Morgan Guaranty Trust of New York.

The big six identified in the study included Bankers Trust of New York (\$180 million), Chemical Bank of New York (\$125 million), the Wells Fargo Bank of San Francisco (\$125 million), Citicorp of New York (\$86 million), Morgan Guaranty Trust of New York (\$150 million) and First Chicago (\$75 million)—all of which were targets of chairman Reuss' wrath.

The study was written by Michael Moffit and Isabel Letelier of the Transnational Institute in Washington, D.C., a private think tank.

It asserted that efforts by the Carter administration and Congress to influence the human rights conduct of the Chilean regime have been undercut by large-scale private U.S. investments in Chile. Since the Carter inauguration, almost all direct aid to Chile has been eliminated. But the big six U.S. banks, the authors found, gave the Pinochet government, "a green light to thumb its nose at international pressure...because the junta has private sources of financing at its disposal other than governments that have attached tough human rights criteria to their foreign assistance programs."

Most of the foreign loans to Chile, Moffit and Letelier said, have gone to financing repayment of debts to the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund

and other multilateral lending institutions, as well as to underwrite imports of luxury goods.

Since the U.S. Congress slapped a \$27.4 million aid ceiling on Chile in 1976, loans from private banks increased 500 percent over the previous year, their figures show. Total private loans now account for more than 90 percent of Chile's total borrowing.

Chile has been able to attract foreign investment because of its austere fiscal policy, Moffit said, which emphasizes an export-led economy and cuts in social services.

Ms. Letelier pointed out that unemployment in Chile currently stands at about 20 percent, while malnutrition, unknown in modern times there, is "widespread."

The recent Morgan Guaranty Trust-led loan package is the single largest loan by private banks since the Pinochet government seized power in a U.S. supported

military coup in September 1973. Commenting on that loan and last week's criticism of banking practices by Reps. Harkin and Reuss, Morgan Guaranty's spokesman, John Morris, said that the banks' loans "do not imply a statement of approval of social and political conditions in any country. We think that the proper role of private institutions' operations are in international trade. Foreign policies are made by governments."

Moffit and Letelier, meanwhile, disclosed in a press conference that they had written to David Rockefeller, chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank, as well as to other bank executives, asking them to implement a moratorium on loans to Chile as long as the Chilean secret police is suspected by the Justice department of having a hand in the murders of their spouses.

Jeffrey Stein is the Washington correspondent of the Boston Phoenix.

## Net closing on Letelier killers

By John T. Alves and Saul Landau

**T**WO CUBAN EXILE TERRORISTS linked by federal investigators to the bombing murders of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt (ITT, Apr. 19), were arrested April 14 after meeting at a Miami airport hotel. Although the two were not charged specifically with the Letelier-Moffitt bombing, their arrests were reliably reported to be part of a government strategy in that case. Guillermo Novo Sampol and Alvin Ross Diaz, both with previous bombing arrests, were picked up by the FBI and officers of the Dade County Organized Crime Bureau along with a third man, Manuel Mendez.

Novo was arrested on a fugitive warrant, charged with violating parole provisions and unlawful flight to escape arrest. He had been on parole after an 11-month jail stint for bombing Cuban diplomatic offices in Montreal. Ross Diaz, who has reportedly been implicated in recent New Jersey bombings of Cuban and Soviet targets, was charged with five counts of possession of explosives. Both men are members of the ultra-right-wing Cuban Nationalist Movement. Mendez, also a Cuban exile, was booked for possession of cocaine.

Along with approximately a kilogram of cocaine, estimated to have a value of \$250,000, police discovered four firearms, quantities of potassium permanganate, blasting powder and detonator caps, as well as several wigs and makeup kits.

Reliable sources say the arrests of Novo and Ross are linked to the incarceration of Michael Vernon Townley, who presently is being held by federal authorities as a material witness in the Letelier-Moffitt murders. Townley was expelled from Chile by Gen. Augusto Pinochet in 1977

after he had refused to answer a series of 53 questions submitted to him under a "letters rogatory" procedure by the American government. (ITT, Apr. 19.)

## The Letelier case is putting increasing pressure on Pinochet, forcing him to reform.

The expulsion of Townley, who has been linked to the Chilean secret police, DINA, was only one of a series of maneuvers initiated by Pinochet to undercut a rising tide of criticism and opposition. Pinochet also forced the resignation of Gen. Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, head of DINA and one of the Chilean strongman's closest associates. One Justice department official familiar with the case commented that for Pinochet to give up Contreras was like "Nixon giving up Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Colson all at once."

Contreras' departure did not end the criticism. The press carried a host of rumors linking the resignation to the "Letelier affair" and continued to point out that Pinochet, by decree, was responsible for DINA's operations. More threatening, however, was a challenge from within the junta itself. Air Force Gen. Gustavo Leigh Guzman publicly called for the resignation of the present military commanders and their substitution by new men who, along with a civilian president, would pave the way for civilian rule. The Air Force officer corps, some high government officials and, reportedly, even some members of the Army were sympathetic to Leigh's proposal.

Pinochet responded by accelerating the pace of his "reform" initiatives. He announced the formation of a Council of Labor, designed to facilitate the previously taboo process of collective bargaining. On April 5 he appeared on national radio and TV and announced that a new constitution would be submitted to a national plebiscite in 1979. Only three months earlier, he had assured the nation that there would be "no more elections for ten years."

One week later Pinochet accepted the resignation of the cabinet and, in a cosmetic gesture, designated a civilian as Minister of Interior, assigning him the task of selecting a new, predominantly civilian cabinet. Pinochet also announced that Defense Minister Gen. Hermann Brady, in that post since the 1973 coup that overthrew the elected government of Salvador Allende, had resigned to take an "important post." When asked which post, Pinochet replied, "I don't remember."

In what may be the most important measure yet, the junta leader on April 19 decreed a general amnesty for all persons convicted by military tribunals since Sept. 11, 1973, including all those in exile abroad. As IN THESE TIMES went to press the exact details of this amnesty decree and the response of exile groups were unclear, but Chilean observers predicted that it could have widespread consequences.

What was clear was that Gen. Pinochet was in big trouble and that he was desperately trying to rid himself of all those who could tie him to the Letelier-Moffitt killings and to stabilize a rapidly deteriorating political position.

John Alves and Saul Landau are associated with the Transnational Institute in Washington.



# IN THE WORLD

## BRITAIN

# Pounds outweigh plutonium danger

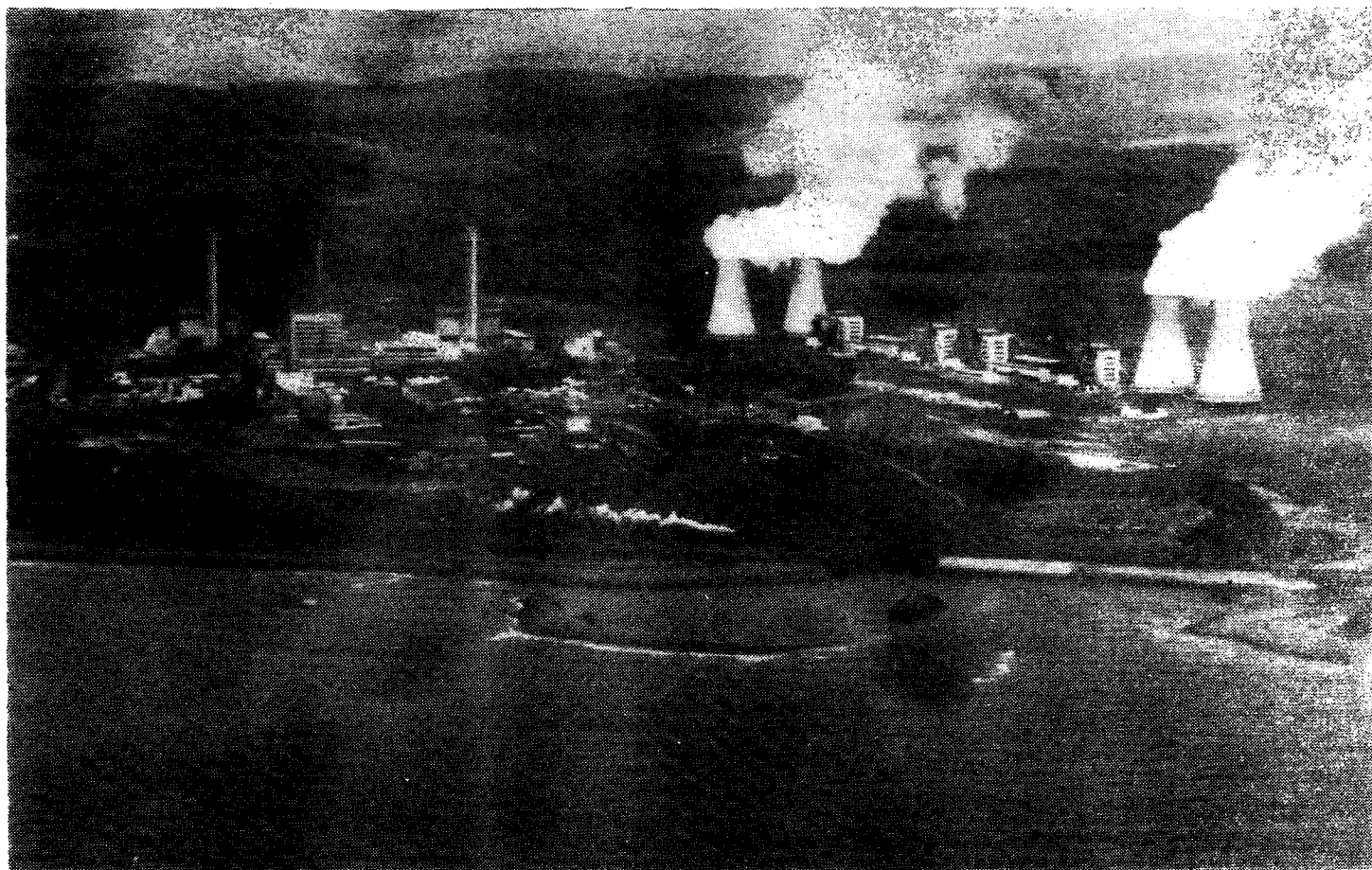
By Mervyn Jones

LONDON

**W**INDSCALE, A REMOTE village on the north-western coast of England, appears set to make a name for itself in the frightening history of the nuclear age. Since the early 1950s it has been the location of Britain's pioneering nuclear power stations, and its record includes an accident when the escape of contaminating material was admittedly serious and narrowly missed being catastrophic. Now there are plans for a larger enterprise with huge international implications. The proposal is to create a center for reprocessing nuclear waste, partly British and partly imported.

A special company has been formed with the name of British Nuclear Fuels Limited. The installation would take three years to build and demand an investment of 600 million pounds (1 pound = \$1.88), but there is little doubt that in time it would be very good business and would make a significant contribution to Britain's balance of payments. A number of countries that have (or intend to have) nuclear power stations are keen to become customers, with Japan well to the fore.

Blandly described in BNFL statements as a reprocessing plant, the installation would in fact be a plutonium factory. The material reaching Windscale would be turned into separated plutonium, and this would be returned to the customer nation. The argument is that indefinite storage of unprocessed waste—the practice in the U.S., where reprocessing is banned—creates intractable problems for densely populated countries like Britain or Japan. It is further said that plu-



The Windscale and Calder Works, Cumberland, England.

tonium would be a valuable addition to a nation's nuclear power capacity.

### Proliferation and terrorism.

Most practicably and therefore most probably, the plutonium would be used in fast-breeder reactors. The building of fast-breeders is regarded as a dangerous step for several reasons. Britain's Minister of Energy, Tony Benn, has authorized one of them on an experimental basis but has

so far resisted pressure to embark on a general fast-breeder program.

Still more alarming is the possibility of using the plutonium in the making of nuclear weapons. As a supplier for this purpose, Britain would be in direct breach of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. BNFL claims that its plutonium would be subjected to a process called "spiking," a method of rendering it unsuitable for weapons use.

But there is much controversy over the validity of this process. In 1977 the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission took the view that spiking could not be 100 percent effective if a government—or a terrorist group that might get hold of plutonium—were determined to make a nuclear explosive.

Objections to the Windscale project have been expressed on various grounds.

*Continued on page 10.*

# New budget reflects dim view of world economy

By Mervyn Jones

LONDON

**C**HANCELLOR OF EXCHEQUER Denis Healey has introduced a cautious budget. It is seen as a recognition that British economic difficulties are by no means over. He has been under strong political pressure to make sweeping tax cuts on both personal income tax and company tax to give a stimulus for higher production.

Both the Confederation of British Industry, the main employers' organization, and the Trades Union Congress had urged cuts amounting to 3.5 million pounds [1 pound = \$1.88]. But Healey has decided to limit cuts to the 2.5 million pounds that had been accepted in pre-budget discussions as minimum.

These cuts are concentrated almost entirely on personal tax and will benefit everyone from low-paid workers to the rich. The greatest improvement will be felt by the half-million people on moderately high incomes, mostly middle-rank business executives who had complained loudly about their burdens. Healey asserts that workers on average earnings with wife and children, if they have received the maximum wage rise allowed under government policy, will experience a 6 percent improvement in living standards.

### Rebuff to liberals.

This is better than last year's standstill but will hardly evoke rousing cheers. Meanwhile, he has refused any relaxations in the company tax, and business circles will be very resentful. But tactful concessions have been made to owners

of small family businesses as well as farmers and hotel owners. In political terms, these are concessions to the Liberal party.

This gesture, however, is eclipsed by Healey's rejection of the main strategy urged by the government's Liberal allies. They had pressed for very large income tax cuts offset by substantial increases in indirect taxes, especially the value added tax that is levied on all consumption goods except food. Any such increase would have meant overnight speedup of inflation and would also have generated revolt from Labour rank and file who traditionally oppose consumption taxes.

Healey had more political sense than to adopt such a strategy. But the rebuff will be keenly felt by the Liberals and shows that the party pact is far from giving them an influential voice in key decisions. They are now threatening to ally with the Tories in voting against budget measures. If carried through this threat would mean government defeat and an immediate election. It is highly unlikely, however, that the Liberals, now in the weakest position for years, will take such action. Anyway, Healey has decided to call their bluff.

On the left of the Labour party there will be criticism of the small, indeed derisory, extra sums granted to social services. The health service gets an extra 50 million pounds and education an extra 40 million. These are tiny sums in relation to the budget as a whole and do little to compensate for the cuts of recent years. Certainly they will not reverse the steady rundown of standards in the slum schools and antiquated hospitals of Britain's main cities. The only gesture to critics has been the cancellation of the widely re-

sented increase in payments for school meals. Meanwhile, to defuse right-wing pressure, Healey promises extra money for the police and prisons.

### Anxiety about economy.

Evident in Healey's speech was anxiety over the prospects for the British economy. He began by saying that "world recovery has been more sluggish than expected" and described 1977 as a "disappointing year." He was speaking after the Copenhagen meeting of EEC prime ministers had yet again failed to produce convincing plans for economic upturn.

Action has been deferred to the summit of major capitalist nations to be held this June in Bonn, but there is at present no reason to expect that this will be any more productive than the 1977 London summit. Failing world recovery, as Healey frankly said, "no single nation can even solve its own problems."

To put this more precisely, tax cuts and greater spending power in Britain might merely result in a renewed flow of imports and cancel the recent improvement in the balance of payments, unless countered by willingness of other nations to buy British exports. But there is no sign of such willingness.

The fault lies partly with the restrictive policies of Germany and Japan and partly with the weakness of British industry. To quote Healey again, "Unless British industry can produce, a budget stimulus will create jobs in other countries, not our own."

High imports will inevitably raise the inflation rate. Healey forecasts a rate of 7 percent for 1978 but his hopes in the past have always been disproved by events.

On the eve of the budget came news that prices of industrial raw materials have risen 2 percent in March, a bad omen for future consumer prices.

His May promise was that the budget stimulus, plus the flow of North Sea oil, will increase gross national product by 3 percent in the coming year. This too remains to be seen. Once again he was forced to report that the increase for the past year has been zero.

Unemployment remains an insuperable problem for the Labour government. Healey referred as usual to the "intolerable level" but ministers have been using this phrase since 1975 and have continued to tolerate it. Figures have marginally fallen in the last two months but the outlook is bad.

Three warning signs came within days before the budget was announced. The steel industry, now in critical condition, announced plans to hasten closures of older plants, bringing gloom notably to the city of Cardiff whose doomed steel plant is the mainstay of its local economy. British Leyland, the auto combine now in government hands, decided to close its plant in Merseyside, Britain's hardest-hit industrial region where unemployment is double the national average. And 2,000 jobs have vanished in the closing of a plant making TV sets, a field in which British industry is fighting for survival against Japanese imports.

On present showing, the trend seems unlikely to be reversed. "The main purpose of the budget," Healey said, "is to encourage growth of economic activity sufficiently to get unemployment down." All indications are that this will be a formidable task.



# Plutonium

Continued from page 9.

People living nearby are divided, with some fearful of possible accidents and nuclear poisoning, others attracted by employment opportunities. There is much anxiety about the safety of the material (both incoming nuclear waste and exported plutonium) that would be carried by ship all over the world. Point has been given to these fears by the recent wreck of an oil tanker on the French coast, with 220,000 tons of oil spilling out to beaches. "If we can't transport oil safely," asks a letter in a London newspaper, "what makes us think that we are ready to transport plutonium?"

Then there is the problem of terrorism. To forestall it—if indeed there could ever be a guarantee of forestalling it—might require armed security forces in the locality, road-blocks and house-searches, and intensive screening of workers in the plant. All this could be extremely unpleasant, not to say incompatible with accepted civil liberties and privacy rights.

## Collision course with U.S.

Above all, there is a sharp divergence internationally on the question of whether or not the project will allow nations possessing the know-how—let's remember that Brazil, Argentina and Pakistan are among BNFL's prospective customers—to come closer to making nuclear weapons. Britain, supported by France and West Germany, maintains that Windscale would be a safety factor because it would deter such nations from building their own plutonium factories, in which spiking might not be in effect.

The U.S. is known to take the contrary view and to frown on any sanction to reprocessing. A respected science correspondent has written: "Western Europe and Japan are on a collision course with the United States over measures for controlling the spread of nuclear weapons." The British government will have to consider whether this is the right moment to risk a clash with the Carter administration.

British law obliged the government to set up an open inquiry into the project headed by a judge, Mr. Justice Parker. Parker held hearings lasting three months at Windscale itself and listened to submissions from local interests, ecology campaigners, and distinguished scientists from Britain and abroad. His report came down solidly in favor of the project, dismissing all objections as exaggerated.

But the report has merely prolonged the controversy. In many ways it is evasive or seeks to reassure without much conviction. On the security issue, for instance, Parker says:

"The most one can do, it seems to me, is to require the government should en-

sure that the interference with our liberties goes no further than our protection demands and that there should be some Minister answerable to Parliament if interference goes further than this."

Worse, the judge has been accused of distorting the evidence that he heard. Dr. Tom Cochran, an American nuclear physicist, says that he argued that spiking is ineffective against terrorists and is cited in the report as holding that it is effective. He told the press that he has written to Peter Shore—Secretary for the Environment, and hence the man who must make the final decision—"to express my shock and dismay at the way in which the judge misrepresented my testimony." Three British scientists who gave evidence opposing the project also charge Parker with distortion or selective quotation.

## Parliamentary debate.

On March 22 the issue was debated in Parliament for the first time since the Parker report was made public. Shore, who had already hailed the report as "masterly" and "persuasive," urged MPs to give their approval. He pointed out that Japanese orders promise a windfall of 250 million pounds, and European contracts should be worth as much again. To reject reprocessing, he said, would mean a need "to design and develop new facilities for long-term storage." He was supported by his opposite number, the Tory spokesman on environmental matters.

Leo Abse, an independent-minded Labour MP, spoke against the project. "A terrible price will be paid," he warned, "for going into an export business with appallingly malignant side effects." He went on to charge that we are being hustled into a decision by "the nuclear industrial complex."

MPs were allowed a free vote without party whips, but the pro-Windscale attitude of both the government and the official opposition naturally influenced the outcome. The motion—technically to "adjourn the debate," i.e. to give approval to the government's policy—was carried by 186 votes to 56 in a thinly-attended House. The vote is not decisive in any final sense, since further votes are necessary to endorse actual construction work and investment of public funds.

For opponents of Windscale, however, this first test of parliamentary opinion is undoubtedly a setback. They plan an intensive lobby of MPs and a mass demonstration in London—this, in fact, should already have taken place but was deferred because of the government's two-month ban on marches. Within months, in any case, we may be committed to a project that many informed people still regard as extremely perilous.

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# Indonesian czar

Continued from page 11.

Looming large in this kind of thinking is the liberation of Indochina, and the American antiwar movement that helped bring it about. "I think Americans can't appreciate the impact of Vietnam," Soekarno observed. "They may not be familiar with the danger of subversion."

He is critical of what he calls the New Left: "I do not know what their objectives are, but it seems from the result of their activities as if they are against our country. They have been trying to publish information damaging to the interests of Indonesia. On the human rights, or so-called prisoners, they are blowing the

## Americans "may not be familiar with the dangers of subversion."

whole issue out of proportion, as if this is the real thing that matters, or the only thing that matters, while keeping silent about other big issues in other countries, particularly Vietnam and Cambodia."

## War in Timor.

Late in 1975, the Indonesian government took over the eastern part of the island of Timor, intervening just as the former colony was about to receive its independence from Portugal. Again there were reports of massacres by government forces. Estimates of the numbers who died range anywhere from 10,000 (the government of Indonesia and the U.S. State department) to 100,000 (Timorese refugees, opposition members of the Australian Parliament and Amnesty International).

At the time, there were protests at the UN about the Indonesian incursion; the General Assembly and the Security Council called on Indonesia to respect the island's right to self-determination and to withdraw its troops. Indonesia ignored the calls. Last November, with the U.S. dissenting, the UN General Assembly voted to send a mission to East Timor in advance of a visit by a special committee to determine whether the island should be independent after all. In December, Amnesty International scored Indonesia for refusing to allow the International Red Cross to visit East Timor.

There is strong evidence that the Indonesians overcame guerilla forces on East Timor that were not so much ideological as nationalist. Still, Soekarno views the East Timor situation as part of the Com-

munist threat. As such, it has been eliminated: "As far as we're concerned," he explained, "East Timor is no longer a problem."

Soekarno's concern for security applies to his own work as well. Under a 1968 law, President Suharto has the power to stop anything that might incite people, including the publication of inflammatory material. Soekarno and the *Kopkamtib*, a military security force, are the President's agents. In 1974, after protests against the visit of the unpopular Japanese premier, Soekarno closed down six newspapers, among them the student paper *Harian Kami*, which had been critical of the government's handling of the demonstrations. Spates of outright censorship, however, were followed by a more restrained approach. Last spring, newspaper executives reported warning visits by the *Kopkamtib* when they published stories about students protesting a hike in bus fares.

"In my country," Soekarno explained, "we have freedom of the press, but of course the freedom is not absolute. You have to balance the freedom with responsibility. Ours is a developing country. We cannot afford the luxury of instability."

Soekarno oversees a system of positive as well as negative reinforcement to get the kind of coverage he wants. The government regularly gives away choice plots of land suitable for building to favored editors and journalists; bank loans are available at prime rates for financing a house. So many have taken advantage of the offer that an entire section of the city of Jakarta is called Journalists Village, and the government has installed free roads, schools, utilities and a marketplace. Soekarno seemed not to question the propriety of the arrangement; his only comment was that it is an inexpensive way for the journalists to live: "It's cheap."

The interview almost done, we asked Soekarno, his fingers delicately holding a slim Continental cigarette, whether he was, as the State department had indicated, a voice of restraint among more authoritarian officials.

His eyes flickered, and briefly Soekarno seemed to lose his marked self-control. Suddenly he leaned back, opened his mouth and laughed out loud for the first time in the interview. "I do not know," he replied finally. "Of course I do my duty. I do not know if I'm a restraining influence."

Connie Page writes for Boston's **REAL PAPER**.

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## INDONESIA

# The press czar defends bloody history

By Connie Page

**A**MONG THE COUNTRIES FAVORED in the Carter administration's foreign aid proposed for 1979 are several with long and bloody histories of violating human rights. One is Indonesia, the 13,000-island archipelago, junta-run, south of Vietnam. If Congress approves the request, Indonesia will receive about \$50 million in economic aid and \$45 million in military aid.

Like many of the military regimes the U.S. supports, Indonesia is of immense strategic importance, and is expected to assume an even more critical role over the next ten years.

It is the largest country in southeast Asia, and the fifth largest in population in the world, its people numbering well over 135 million. With its vast expanse of land stretching out over thousands of islands, Indonesia is in a key location to fill out a string of American military bases throughout the Pacific Basin. It commands two important straits, the Malacca and the Makassar, which provide oil tanker routes from the Middle East to Japan and Europe; and another, the Ombai, which is deep enough to allow nuclear submarines to pass through. Indonesia also is variously the third or fourth largest supplier of oil to the U.S., running neck and neck with Iran. Though ostensibly neutral, Indonesia gets closer to the U.S. with each passing year.

With Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos independent and Thailand in perpetual political convulsion, it is one of the last secure ramparts against communism in that part of the world.

## Press czar.

A recent interview with an official high in the Indonesian government gives some further insight into the country's peculiar attraction for the U.S. The official is Soekarno (like many Indonesians, he goes by only a single name). He is Indonesia's chief censor, and a confirmed anti-communist.

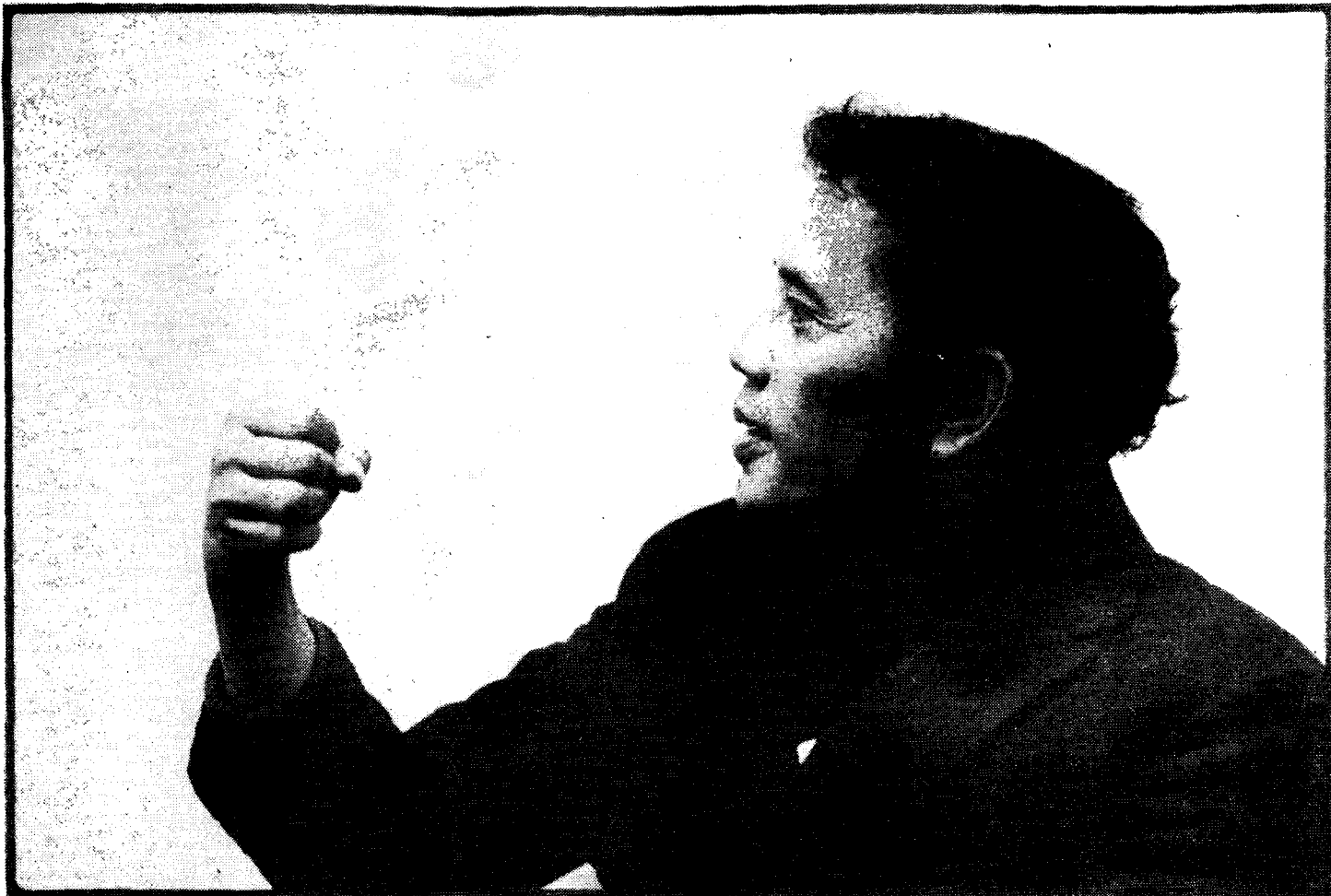
Soekarno is a small man, his cheekbones sculptured, his hair oiled and curly. For many years a press attaché stationed in Rome and London, he is urbane, cordial and speaks English with a slight British accent underlying the native resonances. Recently he was on a month-long tour of the U.S. sponsored and bankrolled by the State department.

The purpose of his trip was never precisely clear; apparently, however, it was not simply to satisfy professional curiosity. An eager caller who arranged an interview described Soekarno as Indonesia's "press czar." A State department hand-out sent in preparation for the meeting had this to say about Soekarno: "Though he is charged with censoring the press, he is philosophically sensitive to the problems involved. The [American] embassy [in Jakarta] thinks he may be a voice of restraint among other more authoritarian officials." The implication of these conflicting reports seemed to be variously that Soekarno's stateside experiences might help him argue for reason at home or, alternatively, that those Americans who met him might look more favorably on his country.

## Communism a crime.

Soekarno's diplomatic and government career spans the entire length of office of the sitting President of Indonesia, Suharto (who also uses just one name). Suharto came to power almost by accident, in the wake of a coup in 1965. Almost immediately, the President set about to destroy the communist movement that was flourishing at the time. He authorized or allowed (Western reports are unclear) one of the most grisly campaigns of slaughter in modern times.

As a *Time* dispatch of the day described it: "Communists, red sympathizers and their families are being massacred by the



Soekarno interviewed at Boston's REAL PAPER.

Eric A. Roth

thousands. The killings have been on such a scale that the disposal of the corpses has created a serious sanitation problem in East Java and Northern Sumatra where the humid air bears the reek of decaying flesh. Travelers from those areas tell of small rivers and streams that have been literally clogged with bodies. River transportation has at places been seriously impeded."

Afterwards, President Suharto had Communists and Communist sympathizers who were still alive imprisoned without trial. Many of the 100,000 or so political prisoners now in Indonesian jails—and the extraordinary number puts the country on top of Amnesty International's list of human rights violators—have been there since the 1965 purge.

Soekarno refused to call them political prisoners, but rather "criminals because they have committed a crime." In

the strictest sense, he's correct. Like many countries using jail to pacify dissidents, Indonesia has made communism a crime.

## New left.

Late last year, Indonesia claimed to have released about 10,000 of these prisoners. Soekarno insisted, however, that this was not in response to American pressure. "As far as we're concerned, we have our own philosophy. We act as we've always acted in accordance with that philosophy. We believe in the five principles embodied in the Pantja Sila [a sort of Declaration of Independence]—God, nationalism, humanism, democracy and social justice. In relationship to the prisoner issue, for example, it is humanism: If they [the Communists] do something wrong, it is our duty to guide them to the right path."

Indonesians interviewed in this country and recent American visitors there feel that the slaughter and longterm imprisonment of Communists all but destroyed their influence. Observers see political dissent, such as it is, emerging rather from the almost feudal nature of the culture—a jostling for power among so many warring princes. Still the government officially targets Communism as the gravest threat to its internal stability.

During the interview, Soekarno repeatedly referred to this danger. He claimed that by the time of the 1965 coup, the Communists by their own count numbered about five million. "So there must still be a lot of people in Indonesia who are silently supporting the Communists," he concluded. "That's why the Communists in Indonesia are still considered a threat."

Continued on page 10.

# U.S. officials deny deception on aid

By Lenny Siegel

**M**EETING BEHIND CLOSED doors in late March, the subcommittee on Asia and Pacific Affairs of the House International Relations committee declined to challenge the administration request for aid to Indonesia.

The administration has also chosen to ignore a previously unannounced internal ban on arms sales that has left a strange trail of bureaucratic duplicity.

In early 1976, the American military aid bureaucracy violated its own secret ban on arms shipments to Indonesia. The U.S. arranged to supply at least \$1.3 million in spare parts and maintenance for a squadron of OV-10 "Bronco" counterinsurgency aircraft, previously sent to Indonesia under the Foreign Military Sales program. These orders, admit State department and Pentagon officials, violated an administrative hold that the two agencies had imposed when the U.S. learned that Indonesia employed American arms in its Dec. 7, 1975, invasion of neighboring East Timor.

Members of the House committee first learned of the temporary arms embargo in March 1977 when Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Richard Holbrooke reported, "To ensure that we were in compliance

with the applicable statutes, while we were reviewing the situation, the U.S. administratively delayed the provision of additional security assistance to Indonesia although military equipment already in the pipeline continued to be delivered."

The problem, reported Holbrooke's deputy Robert Oakley, was that the Indonesians had used U.S.-provided C-130 "Hercules" transport planes and U.S. arms in their invasion of East Timor. American aid legislation and agreements with the Indonesian government both require the U.S.-provided arms not be used in foreign aggression.

In justifying a resumption of aid after only a six-month embargo, Holbrooke said, "During this period there was also significant reduction of hostilities in Timor. Under these circumstances, we believed it appropriate to reinstate security assistance for Indonesia and we did so in late June." Furthermore, the U.S. accepted the July 12, 1976, "incorporation" of East Timor as Indonesia's 27th province, so from that time military action in East Timor could be considered internal police action, not foreign aggression!

Members of the International Relations Committee were upset that they had not been informed of the embargo until nine months after it ended. Lester Wolff, the New York Democrat who heads the subcommittee on Asian and

Pacific Affairs, asserted that Congressional action supporting security assistance to Indonesia "might have been different if we had all been made aware of what was happening."

The Washington-based Center for International Policy studied a Pentagon-supplied print-out of Foreign Military Sales agreements, and it found that the U.S. had made at least four new offers of weapons during the supposed ban. Cornell Southeast Asian specialist Ben Anderson reported this contradiction to the International Relations Committee on Feb. 15, 1978, and State and Pentagon officials admitted that they had indeed violated their own ban. Oakley told the Committee, however, that they had not been "out to deceive."

Two possibilities emerge from this rather confusing sequence of events. First, the State department invented the embargo retroactively, to make Congress think that it was scrupulously enforcing aid legislation. Or second, top Ford administration officials overrode their deputies and misled them. Representative Don Fraser (D-Minn.) has asked both the State department and Defense Security Assistance Agency to provide documents so his subcommittee on International Organizations can determine exactly what happened. ■

Lenny Siegel is a researcher at the Pacific Studies Center in Palo Alto, Calif.



# When the (bleep) hits the fans

**D**o sports fans have rights?

By Jim Ford

A new national organization, FANS (Fight to Advance the Nation's Sports), thinks so. Initiated in September 1977 with the backing of consumer advocate Ralph Nader, FANS has grown into a national organization with increasing influence and clout.

Based on the assumption that "sports fans are also citizens, taxpayers and consumers," and that they "have the right to have their interests expressed and represented," FANS is the brainchild of Peter Gruenstein. Gruenstein, 30, a Washington lawyer, former aid to Rep. Les Aspin (D-WI), former bureau chief for the Capitol Hill News Service and co-author of *Lost Frontier: The Marketing of Alaska*, approached Nader in the summer of 1977 with the idea of organizing a sports consumer group. Nader, who had been accumulating sports related clippings for ten years, liked the idea and agreed to provide FANS with a \$10,000 seed loan.

Public reaction was loud. Many people were skeptical of any attempt to organize sports fans. The organization was a seemingly irresistible target for cynicism and satire by sports commentators and columnists. And a lot of people laughed at the idea. But FANS—employing the traditional Nader device of media exposure—also touched some raw nerves among members of the sports establishment.

In October 1977, for instance, Gruenstein appeared on a local TV program in Cincinnati, where baseball fans were upset at an announced 50 cent rise in ticket prices. Based on a 2.5 million attendance in 1977 and player costs of no more than \$2.5 million, Gruenstein calculated that "the Reds could be making a \$6 million profit." He called the price increase unjustified, and issued a public warning that FANS would do a financial analysis on other teams contemplating price increases.

The response was swift. Dick

Wagner, executive director and general manager of the Reds, leaped to the telephone to respond: "I wonder if Mr. Gruenstein was educated in this country or in the Soviet Union." Baseball commissioner Bowie Kuhn's office issued a memorandum to all teams assuring them that FANS would have no impact. Accompanying the memos were anti-FANS articles and a background study of Gruenstein. Each team was instructed to notify the commissioner's office whenever Gruenstein or a representative of FANS appeared in its city.

Not all owners heeded Kuhn's instructions, or were as outspoken as the Reds' Wagner. In November, for instance, Gruenstein participated in a panel discussion with Ray Kroc, of McDonald's fame and owner of the San Diego Padres. Kroc promised to make available to FANS rele-

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Less than  
5% of the  
Redskins’  
home  
attendance  
comes from  
D.C.’s black  
majority.”

vant financial data pertaining to the Padres' 1977 operations. In adhering to that promise, the Padres—perhaps only coincidentally—told FANS they would make a public disclosure of their operating results, an action unheard of for a privately-owned sports franchise.

Although only a few other teams have followed the Padres' example and provided FANS with financial information, they

have provided data on ticket prices and other operating practices. And despite commissioner Kuhn's assurances that FANS would fade away and have no impact, his personal lawyer, Jim Fitzgerald, initiated a "get-together" luncheon with Gruenstein in Washington.

Some of the player organizations have been sympathetic to FANS as well. The NFL Players Association has provided information and has distributed the organization's newsletter to its members.

FANS has also developed some influence on Capitol Hill, where it helped get legislation introduced prohibiting the local blackout of major league sports games by TV stations. It has also supported an end to tax deductions for the corporate purchase of sports tickets, and is pushing the investigation of a variety of improper activities in the sports field.

There has also been some response from the leagues. The NFL, in response to a FANS suggestion, will be experimenting with the use of instant replays in calling controversial plays during exhibition games next year.

FANS publishes a monthly newsletter, *LeftField*, to "develop an effective national vehicle, a network, through which fans can communicate with each other and find out what they need to know to protect their mutual interests." The initial issue in November 1977 focused on professional football ticket policies.

One of the goals of FANS is that "the average fan be able to afford tickets" and that "tickets are made widely available to fans on an equitable basis and are not reserved for an elite few." FANS found that ticket prices in the NFL are the highest of the three major sports, and that often seats are sold only on a season ticket basis. It called upon NFL commissioner Pete Rozelle, the League and individual owners to:

- set maximum prices teams can charge for tickets;
- issue annual audited financial statements;
- lower all ticket prices \$1.00 in 1978;
- offer a minimum of one-eighth of individual stadium tickets for

sale on a per-game basis.

In 1978, FANS argued, each NFL team will receive an estimated \$5 million from network contracts—a virtual profit guarantee. The season has also been expanded to 16 games, with each team playing an additional home date. Revenues from this game could also be used to replace revenue lost by lowering ticket prices. Under FANS' proposal season ticket holders would still see seven regular season games, but tickets would be rotated so that one-eighth of all seats would be available for individual game sales. Any season ticket holder randomly excluded from "the big game" would have the choice of standing in line for available seats, along with the rest of the common folk.

Each month, through *LeftField*, FANS polls its membership on a specified policy issue. In November 1977, for instance, fans were asked whether the future installation of artificial turf should be banned (except in domed stadiums). This was an issue of controversy in San Francisco where Candlestick Park was considering replacing its artificial turf with natural grass.

FANS members responded 77 percent in favor of a ban on the future use of artificial turf, agreeing with the NFL Players Association and a majority of the players of the baseball Giants and the football '49ers.

Other member polls have solicited opinions on the use of the 30 second rule (a player must shoot the ball within 30 seconds) in amateur basketball—72 percent favored the idea; whether a playoff system should be used to determine the national championship in collegiate sports—73 percent favored it; whether gambling should be permitted on sports events—58.6 percent opposed, with most of those in favor expressing some reservations.

The March poll asked whether women sports writers should be allowed in the locker rooms. Although the final figures are not in yet, preliminary indications are that FANS members support the right of women to have equal access. And the current issue seeks opinions on baseball's designated

hitter. This comes at a time when the National League is considering its adoption.

Media and press reaction to FANS has been largely critical—if not outraged. Some reporters and broadcasters have been quite creative in interpreting FANS' objectives. Its call for "reasonably priced and reasonably edible food" at sports events, for instance, has been taken to mean that Ralph Nader wants to "replace hot dogs with brussel sprouts."

Said Pat Livingston, sports editor for the *Pittsburgh Press*: "What can FANS do for sports? FANS can be nothing but a frivolous undertaking...perhaps even a criminal one."

George Will, Pulitzer Prize winning columnist: "FANS wants reasonably priced tickets and fair value for fans' money... Anyone with a reasonable sense of the ridiculous will react to this 'Bill of Rights' the way an Englishman reacted to his first sight of an elephant: 'There is no such animal.'... Few sports fans care a patch for formulating sports rules. And they would prefer to be less, not more, informed about the operations of their teams... Like most 'consumer-

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The world of  
sports...is full  
of arrogance,  
greed,  
cheating,  
brutality, and  
cold hot  
dogs.”

WASHINGTON POST

ism,' FANS is organized resentment of supply and demand."

Then there was a Mike Royko article in the *Chicago Daily News*,





distributed to major league club owners by commissioner Kuhn's office—a parody perpetuating the image of a sports fan as an overweight beer-drinking slob: "Nader believes that sports fans are actually consumers. I guess that's one way of looking at them. They do sort of sit there in front of the TV, chomping and chewing, and swallowing and digesting sports events... They just gulp it all down, burp, and start on the next course... Today's sports fan is, if anything, overfed."

CBS unleashed Eric Sevareid, Jack Whittaker, and James J. Kilpatrick, all reciting the "fans were made to suffer" argument. "Games are inherently irrational. ... They [the fans] ought never to be deprived of the crosses they bear," said Kilpatrick.

(Of course, CBS is not exactly a disinterested observer. The former owner of the New York Yankees, CBS is still heavily involved in sports activities. While it owned the Yankees, CBS was guilty, FANS activists say, of some of the activities that make their organization necessary, including presenting nearly bankrupt New York City with a \$100-200 million bill—nobody seems to know what the exact amount is—for the renovation of Yankee Stadium. Under the terms of their preferential lease with the city, in 1976 the Yankees paid no rent for Yankee Stadium—the city ended up owing them \$10,000. In 1977, the city should have received an estimated \$1 million rent, instead they got less than \$150,000.)

Other critics took a different, more liberal, tack, admitting that there were problems, but arguing that there already existed mechanisms to solve them, most notably the media. According to the *Washington Post*, for instance, "There are a good many things wrong with the world of sports. It is full of arrogance, greed, cheating, brutality, and cold hot dogs. These ought to be attacked—and are each day—by sports writers and broadcasters."

Except when there is a conflict of interest, FANS partisans respond, like when writers and broadcasters are employed by a company with a vested interest in

a sports franchise. Then there is the more common conflict of interest, "freebie" tickets given to the press by almost every major arena and stadium in the country.

A national copy editor at the *New York Times* elaborated on how the press is pacified in the December 1977 *LeftField*: "Should I have been surprised, then, when in 1966 I offered to write a story about the Mets ticket situation and was told not to bother—just to see the sports editor when I wanted tickets?"

"Or should I have been surprised when in 1970 I tried to get into print something about the overall [Madison Square] Garden situation and was told in writing by the sports editor that he didn't want to put the 'zing' on the Garden?"

In 1973 the sports editor referred to above was down for ten freebies at Madison Square Garden, valued at \$5,574 a year, while the entire *New York Times* staff got 42 freebies valued at \$24,980.

FANS is particularly concerned with the public subsidization of major league sports. There is something acutely wrong when taxpayers underwrite the construction costs of municipal facilities and subsidize the operating costs of businesses using those facilities at the same time that those same taxpayers are barred—by price and ticket policy—from entering them. FANS has discovered that 78 percent of all baseball season tickets and 54 percent of all hockey season tickets go to corporate buyers. Not only are corporations better able to afford higher prices, they can deduct the full cost of the tickets as a business expense. In the meantime, poor and working class fans are squeezed out by high prices, while others, who might be able to afford tickets, find them unavailable.

Washington, D.C.'s Robert F. Kennedy Stadium, home of the Redskins, for example, is a federally-owned facility situated in a predominantly black city. Less than 5 percent of home attendance at Redskin games comes from the city's black majority, however. Tickets to Redskins games are available only on a season ticket basis. In a letter to

Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus, nominally responsible for the stadium—as well as in calls to five other localities where season-ticket-only policies are practiced in municipally-owned stadiums—FANS recently voiced its concern that such policies might violate federal, state and local statutes, particularly the Civil Rights Law of 1964, requiring equal access to places of public accommodation.

**“Corporate buyers snap up 78% of all baseball and 54% of all hockey season tickets.”**

Further action is being contemplated.

Many fans are also sports participants, and FANS is interested in their needs as well. They are concerned that public subsidization of major league sports often has negative consequences for participatory sports, as community parks, fields, courts and other facilities have to take a backseat to upkeep on professional arenas.

FANS has asked the major networks to give time and space in their sports coverage to non-profitable sports activities by promoting participatory community sports and drawing attention to the sports efforts of ordinary people.

FANS has also been working with a variety of student and campus groups to make sure that student activity fees are not siphoned off into major sports, and that they are used to ensure equal access to sports facilities and programs by all those who

pay for them.

Participatory sports is a new area for FANS, but one that they hope to expand and develop as they grow.

Although the organization is still young and relatively weak—current membership is around 1,100—it has been more successful than it had anticipated in representing individuals and groups with specific consumer complaints—tickets, seats, treatment and other individual complaints. While it wasn't one of their original priority concerns, consumer representation will be pursued as long as people come to FANS for help.

At the heart of the FANS approach is the realization that sports aren't subject to free market restraints or common law; that big time sports is, by its very nature, a monopoly, a legal monopoly. If the sports industry actually were competitive, or if teams remained in the hands of those owners with a genuine love for the game or were publicly owned as are the Green Bay Packers, this situation might be tolerable. But major sports has become a big money proposition, dominated by giant corporations and conglomerates. FANS recently completed a financial analysis of the NFL for the past year that demonstrated that each team will make a minimum profit of \$4 million, with some teams earning considerably more. But even if a team should lose money, it can be written off on taxes, providing a convenient tax shelter.

The wave of the future was expressed by Richard L. Leshner, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce: "Any form of entertainment, including sports, is a luxury... And these days an alternative is just a channel away." It is the TV then that will occupy our leisure time in the future, providing us "with the thrill of victory and the agony of defeat," mediated appropriately through the corporate eye.

It is this future that prompts FANS. Only through organization will fans have any say in determining what sports will look like in the future. If it seems improbable, consider that there was a time not long ago when athletes had no organization and

thus no representation. Stadium and arena employees lacked a voice until they organized.

There have been past efforts to organize fans, but they failed because of apathy beyond the limits of particular localities, which is why FANS was envisioned as a national organization.

Despite its small size, FANS says that it has already made a difference. It is looking down the road to the point where it can form local chapters and bring pressure to bear on the grass roots level. Progress in this direction has been made in a variety of cities around this country and in Canada, and there is the possibility of a local group beginning in New York sometime this summer. Such chapters, while affiliated with the national FANS organization, would remain independent.

Whether FANS can overcome the numerous obstacles that confront it—small size and limited resources, the hostility of the press, the awesome power of corporate sports, and the seeming indifference of the majority of fans—remains to be seen. The odds seem to be stacked against it, but as sports fans all over the world know, spirit, determination and teamwork can bring about miracles—sometimes

*Jim Ford is a Washington writer associated with FANS.*

## FANS

FANS is a non-profit organization, with annual member dues of \$9.00. Members receive a membership card, a FANS button designed by Jeff Millar, co-creator of the Tank McNamara comic strip, a scroll listing the FANS Bill of Rights, and the monthly newsletter, *LeftField*.

Persons wishing to join FANS, receive a copy of the newsletter, or wishing to organize on FANS' behalf should write: FANS, P.O. Box 19312, Washington, DC 20036.



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

## The old politics can't beat inflation

American politics is renowned for its supposedly non-ideological pragmatism: Americans solve problems by dealing with concrete realities rather than chasing after grand ideas in pursuit of some utopian myth.

The persistent failure to solve the "problem" of inflation, however, suggests a breach in the American political tradition—or the traditional view of it. Either the reputation for pragmatic realism is itself a utopian myth (which would make the U.S. like most other countries), or the crisis of the social system runs so deeply that nothing short of openly recognizing the system itself as "the problem" can be both pragmatic and realistic.

Prevalent American politics has never been simply problem-solving oriented. It has always been ideologically tied to preserving capitalism as a social system, even though doing so has made it impossible to achieve practical concrete goals like universal quality education, good housing for all, full employment, equality of opportunity and—non-inflationary prices.

This ideological politics worked enough in the past to make it seem pragmatic and realistic. President Carter may look personally ineffective, but he is simply a more or less adept practitioner of a politics that no longer works. Committed to preserving corporate-capitalism, his "responsible statesmanship" depends on keeping critical discussion of the corporate investment and pricing system out of politics. As a result, none of his programs, however concrete, can achieve stated goals. Carter's anti-inflation program (like his earlier urban program) illustrates the general predicament.

The Carter inflation program calls for a cap on federal employees' pay raises and a freeze on federal executives' salaries, as an example to private sector workers and executives. It opposes new congressional proposals that would raise the federal deficit. It would cut back on currently authorized government purchases of goods and services. It recommends airline deregulation and passage of hospital cost containment legislation. It proposes expanded harvests from public timber lands, the expansion of exports, and the restriction of oil imports if necessary by raising the price of foreign oil through tariffs.

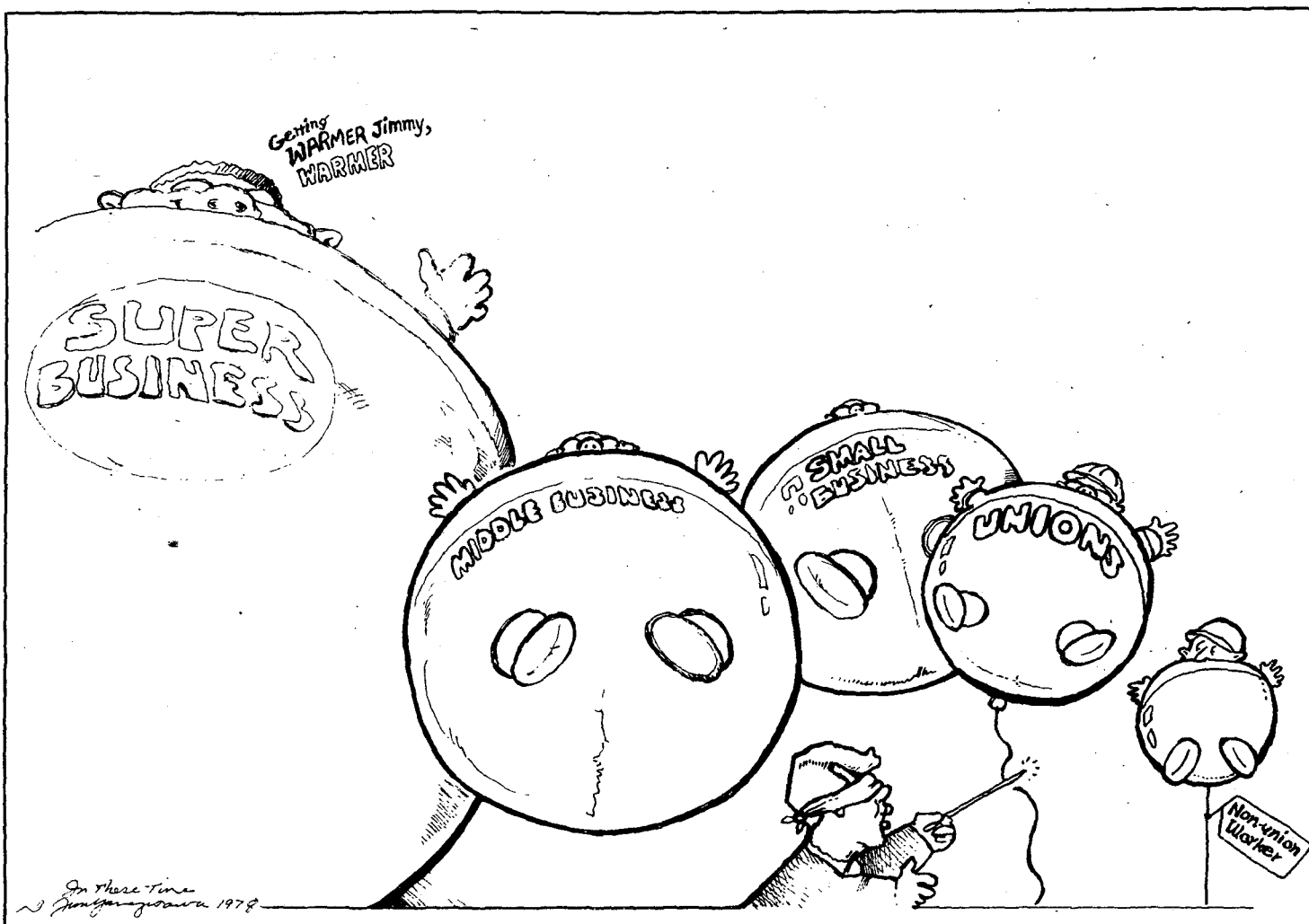
No informed observer believes the program will have anything but a marginal effect (an oil tariff would add more to inflation than all the others combined would subtract from it). The significant thing, however, is the absence of alternative programs with credible chances for adoption.

It is generally agreed that in modern circumstances inflation is a malignant disease threatening social disintegration. Failure to deal with it foreshadows the social system's eventual demise.

Yet Carter's program, with no alternative in sight, represents such a failure. It evades the heart of the matter—corporate price and investment practices. It is there that the root cause of modern inflation lies. The proof of the pudding is in the business response to Carter's program. Corporate executives and spokespersons applauded the President for renouncing the "extreme" of wage and price control, and in the same breath noted that his program was not serious.

Given the categorical imperative in a business society of looking out for Number One, Carter's appeal for voluntary restraint has no more chance of fighting inflation than Herbert Hoover's appeal, a half century ago, for voluntary benevolence had in combatting the depression.

To call for mandatory price and wage controls would be to bring debate about



**"The foreigners [flocking to buy U.S. corporate securities] like U.S. companies because they like U.S. political stability. As one of [Salomon Brothers partner] Ira Harris' European clients explained to him: 'We've got five to ten years of capitalism left, and you've got 15 to 20. We want to be in on those last ten years.'"**

**Fortune, May 8, 1978, p. 91.**

the corporate system of prices, profits, income distribution and investment into the mainstream of politics. It would open the door to realism about the property system in everyday political debate. It would make it less possible for party politics to mask the realities of class interests. But that kind of realism can scarcely be tolerated by the prevalent political pragmatism in the U.S.

So long as corporate power and other highly organized interests control the investment-price system in the private sector, the scope and volume of government spending are not the primary factors in generating inflation.

Government must provide services and employment that the private sector refuses or is unable to deliver, in order to contain social conflict that would otherwise threaten normal politics. It also maintains consumer demand needed for profitable investment.

Government spending buys goods and services at prices set largely by corporate power in the private sector. If those prices were lower, so would be government spending, on everything from military hardware and federal employees' wages to Medicare and welfare payouts.

That is why, for all the rhetoric, few politicians or corporate executives are serious about major cutbacks in government spending: It would knock the bottom out of markets and prices; it would also

swell unemployment and discontent to such proportions as to bring into question if not the preservation of capitalism, then its continuance in a democratic form. Government spending ratifies and buttresses corporate-generated inflation, but does not cause it.

Similarly with taxation in the absence of price and investment controls. The great corporations insist upon high returns on investment, beyond what is needed to expand capacity, as their "incentive" to maintain employment even at less than full levels. They raise prices in booms and also in times of slack, to maintain their profit margins. The recent stock market explosion testifies to the huge glut of capital beyond what the capitalists will productively invest. This is where modern inflation begins. Income taxes are not a deduction from net corporate revenues but are added to prices. The corporations in effect collect taxes for the government through the price system, over and above what individuals pay in their own income taxes. Taxes "cause" inflation insofar as they leave the corporate pricing system intact.

Deficit spending, on the other hand, amounts to borrowing from the rich and paying them interest rates set in private markets rather than taxing them—and taxing the rest of the people to pay the debt.

Government spending, taxation and deficits sustain the corporate investment-

price system that erodes the purchasing power of wages. In that sense they contribute to inflation.

But without moving toward social control of investment and prices, and a public sector offering goods and services at cost (including the cost of replacement and expansion), inflation will continue unabated, short of a ruthless suppression of unions and political democracy.

In this sense, the "sentimental" part of Carter's inflation address contained more realism than all his practical proposals. He said: "We all want something to be done...except when the solutions affect us.... We favor sacrifice, so long as someone else goes first.... We need to change from the preoccupation with self that can cripple our national will to a willingness to acknowledge and to sacrifice for the common good."

In effect, Carter (like Hoover) is asking the American people to act like socialists to save capitalism. But people can't act like socialists if the system punishes them and rewards those who act like capitalists. As one trade union leader said, "If we're good guys, our people will lose more and more..."

To act like socialists would involve moving away from the old pragmatic politics that leaves corporate power in control of the investment-price system, something that "practical" politicians like Carter are not prepared to do. It would involve rejecting the equation of private profit aggrandizement with "the American Way" and constructing a new political realism committed to government programs nurturing social justice and economic democracy. Either that, or the inflationary deluge.

More and more capitalists see the endemic "stagflation" afflicting the capitalist world as symptomatic of their system's passing from the stage of history.

But if the inflationary crisis is to become the prelude to a new social order, rather than to a long and ghastly decay, more and more Americans will have to discover the path to a new politics that puts "the common good" above corporate priorities.



# Letters

## Disgusted by our fear

**Y**OU SEEM TO GO TO EXTREMES not to push one political line or view. Perhaps you have one (with Eurocommunism as a model?), but that can only be speculation. I don't necessarily support this "non-line" because, rather than muddledness, the left needs a unifying clear direction. However, I have appreciated your news coverage.

What I didn't grasp previously were: 1) your level of anti-communism; 2) your lack of an open national unifying perspective for the left; 3) your disagreement with appropriate and needed proletarian internationalism. I'm referring to your red-baiting article towards the *Guardian*, "Political survival in these times" (ITT, Apr. 12).

You steal a good idea from the *Guardian* (their sustainer program) while throwing a few insulting and unsubstantial baits at their newspaper for their relationship with China.

The *Guardian* clearly relies on their own ideas, which got them into this financial position in the first place. With your "foreign government" scare you are harkening back to the McCarthyism of the '50s where there was a commie behind every door and almost anyone was suspect for ties to Moscow. Why play a rightwing game unless you are afraid of the *Guardian* line, or you don't support their right to publish or you are building toward some left hegemony in the future? If any of this is true why don't you openly criticize the perspective of the *Guardian* or lay out your hidden agenda for the national movement for your readers?

I'm disgusted by your fear of taking a political position as a unified paper, defending it and changing it as the world changes.

-Jackie Boynton  
Milwaukee, Wisc.

*[Editor's reply: We do have a clearly stated perspective. It is that a majority movement for socialism in the U.S. cannot be created by attempting to impose a "unified" view on the great diversity of social and political movements that now exist. Any attempt to fit the diverse and growing left into a unified view can only lead to the isolation of the "unifier" and feed the sectarian squabbling that has characterized the American left over most of its history since 1920. But we do have our own political perspective, which is reflected consistently in our editorials. The range of views in the rest of the paper reflects the views of socialists and other leftists in various social and political movements, or at least we hope it does. If a unified left is to emerge in this country, it can only be through a process of discussion and debate that also recognizes and honors the diversity of views on the left and among socialists.]*

## Corporate toilet paper

**Y**OUR PUBLICATION BRINGS TO me analysis of news events, culture, and history. The weekly cuts right through the establishment media and shows it for what it is: corporate toilet paper.

Jack Metzgar's piece on Johnstown, Pa., (ITT, Apr. 12), was particularly well written and researched.

-Giann Gidaly  
Highland, N.Y.

## Alienated cloning

**I**AM DISMAYED THAT YOU CHOSE to contribute to the exploitive fortunes of Rotvik's baby bestseller (ITT, Apr. 12). Furthermore, aspects of the cloning process are described in misleading and sexist terms.

Nowhere is it stated in the article that the clone requires an egg cell, which initiates activity according to the genetic directions of the cloned cell—alienated labor to be sure. Furthermore, nowhere is it mentioned that the clone-embryo requires a mother's womb in which to develop. This can hardly be described as "creating" an "individual" in the laboratory without benefit of a family.

-Ellen Lowery  
Berkeley, Calif.

## Malvina

**I** WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT AL Richmond only quoted one line of Malvina Reynolds' epitaph. The entire verse, called "Wake for a Singer," deserves mention: "Celebrate my death for the good times I've had, for the work that I've done and the friends that I've made. Celebrate my death of whom it could be said, 'She was a working-class woman and a red.' My man was the best. A comrade and a friend, fighting on the good side to the very end. My child was a darling, merry, strong and fine and all the world's children were mine."

-Nancy Ferrari  
Wind Ridge, Pa.

## Don't let it happen

**I**AM SHOCKED BY YOUR CONTINUAL anti-Israel bias and slander. A.J. Kfoury and Paul Saba's article (ITT, Apr. 5) contains unsubstantiated, vicious attacks on the government of Israel—"that Israel knew of this terrorist attack beforehand in which 36 innocent men, women and children were murdered and let it happen." Evidently the author has adopted Hiter's theory of the Big Lie.

I looked forward to the next issue hoping for an objective report from a representative of Israel who would address him or herself to Kfoury article.

Instead I found another inflammatory pro-Palestinian article and nothing from the Israeli side of this sad situation.

This one-sided biased journalism has no place in an independent socialist newspaper. The letter from Chicago by Neil Rest (ITT, Apr. 12) headed "Lies, omissions, gullibility, half truths" was devastating in its truth and forces me to wonder how independent ITT really is.

I sincerely hope that ITT, sorely needed, grows. However, keep in mind that most of your subscribers and potential subscribers have been brain-washed, ripped off and disillusioned by other leftist working class papers in the past.

Please don't let this happen to our IN THESE TIMES.

-Bill McCarthy  
Chief shop steward, Local 13, ILWU  
Wilmington, Calif.

*[Editor's reply: We welcome McCarthy's criticism, but the sentence he quotes from Kfoury and Saba's article did not appear in it. Further, Kfoury and Saba did not say or imply that Israel knew in advance of the Palestinian raid. The two articles referred to in the following week's edition, were by Isrealis: one by Gidion Eshet, an Israeli new leftist the other by Livia Rokach, daughter of a former mayor of Tel Aviv. We have been critical of both the Begin government and of the PLO, but we do not consider such criticism to be any more anti-Israeli or anti-Palestinian than criticism of the Carter administration is anti-American.]*

## Enemies, or sleeping friends?

**B**ILL SMOOT'S ARTICLE ON moralism (ITT, Apr. 19) failed to mention another equally glaring flaw of the America left—the tendency to gush at the mouth—usually using strings of fancy words that convey nothing.

Example: "But the left showed itself at its worst when it failed to recognize the distinction between objectively racist behavior and behavior that is racist in intention."

Smoot, what is the distinction between "objectively racist behavior" and "be-

## 6 PSYCHIATRISTS NABBED IN FRAUD \$131,000 Ripoff in Medicaid

...[Chief] among those indicted was Dr. Anita Stevens, 66, of 60 Sutton Place S.

Dr. Stevens is noted for her work in detecting signs of approaching delinquency. She has earned worldwide recognition in the field and in 1965 was awarded the National Society for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency's Meritorious Achievement Award.

New York Post  
April 5, 1978

## CRITERIA FOR DETECTING SIGNS OF APPROACHING ADULT DELINQUENCY

- 1) Holds M.D.
- 2) Diplomate of American Board of Psychiatry & Neurology
- 3) Accepts Medicaid Patients
- 4) Incorporated in Non-Profit Foundation
- 5) Enjoys clothes, travel, summer homes, and rare gems
- 6) Supporter of Free Enterprise System

-Tuli Kupferberg  
New York

havior that is racist in intention?" You've certainly got me stumped.

There are a few well-taken points in Mr. Smoot's article. But they could have been expressed better and more effectively in four or five solid paragraphs. I'd say we haven't so much made enemies of the people as simply put them to sleep.

-W.D. Ehrhart  
Chicago

## A puff job

**D**AVID MOBERG'S ARTICLE about *Mother Jones* (ITT, Apr. 19) was little better than a puff piece—not the type of journalism I have come to expect from IN THESE TIMES.

Did Moberg conveniently forget about one of *Mother Jones*' more controversial decisions—to accept cigarette advertising? And has he respectfully declined to tell the truth about Paul Jacobs' departure—that Jacobs was fired?

I am a former subscriber to *Mother Jones*. I canceled my subscription because I was tired of the magazine's superficiality and because I never figured out who "the rest of us" were supposed to be. I guess, since I was, at the time, 25, a socialist, and earning only \$7,500 a year, I wasn't destined to find out.

-M. Lucas  
Chicago

## Kent State

**E**IGHT YEARS AGO BULLETS pierced the air at Kent State University leaving four students dead and the 1st Amendment shattered. Again, Kent State is becoming a battleground for the 1st Amendment. Last year the University banned "all demonstrations, rallies and marches" with a court injunction. Acting under this injunction, 300 police broke up a peaceful rally with tear gas, horses, and night sticks on Oct. 22, 1977. Two days later, five students were charged for holding a press conference in opposition to the injunction and seven protestors were arrested for reading the 1st Amendment.

Despite the fact that Kent State gained infamy as "the place where it happened," civil liberties violations seem continually to be occurring. In 1978, demonstrations have continued and so has suppression. On March 18, a student activist was cited by university police for handing out leaflets without "special permission." At a rally in support of 194 protestors that were arrested in an anti-gym demonstration, two speakers were charged with criminal trespass for using a bullhorn. Now the use of video tapes in the student union has been banned—apparently aimed at a tape about last year's anti-gym protests.

The Kent State administration seems to be responding to a memorial rally planned for May 4 by a student group known as the May 4th Task Force. New

KSU president Brage Golding charges it has been taken over by radicals. Students and faculty are urged "to stay away."

So, in a very real sense the 1st Amendment is on trial at Kent State today. With Golding threatening to invoke last year's injunction, May 4th is becoming a rallying point for the Bill of Rights.

In the meantime, with political trials underway the defense team is in desperate need of funds. Please send any donations to the Kent Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 366, Kent, OH 44240.

-Greg Rambo and Bill Arthnell  
Kent, Ohio

## Repealing the Bill of Rights?

**O**N JAN. 30, A BILL THAT COULD have a drastic effect on American civil liberties was steamrolled through the Senate. The bill, S.1437 (Criminal Code Reform Act of 1978), is 682 pages long, covers some 3,000 offenses, yet was given only five days of hearings by a senate judiciary subcommittee. Among S.1437's provisions are: Section 1328 (demonstrating to influence a judicial proceeding)—This would outlaw any form of picketing, parading, or demonstrating within 100 feet of a federal courthouse while any judicial proceeding is in progress. This section is unnecessarily broad, and would limit an important government activity from public criticism. The same problem is found in Section 1323, which prohibits attempting to "improperly" influence, obstruct, or impair the exercise of a legislative power of inquiry. Thus, demonstrating against a legislative body such as the now-defunct House Un-American Activities committee would be illegal.

The bill also re-enacts the Logan Act (first passed in 1799), which outlawed communications between American citizens and officials of foreign governments.

S.1437 poses a special danger to the labor and peace movements. Sections 1722 and 1723 (extortion and blackmail), for example, are so vague that they could severely jeopardize the right to strike. The provisions against "obstructing military recruitment or induction" and "impairing military effectiveness" could destroy active opposition to future Vietnams.

Other violations of civil liberties contained in this bill include: allowing illegally seized evidence to be used in sentencing proceeding (3714); weakening the Miranda decision by allowing confessions to be admitted in court even though the suspect wasn't informed of his rights (3713); permitting judges to refuse bail to a defendant charged with committing one of a wide variety of offenses (3503); and giving the government the power to appeal the length of a sentence given to a convicted person.

If S.1437/HR6869 is to be defeated, wide-scale public action is mandatory. Those interested in defeating this measure should contact their U.S. Representative and demand that they oppose this bill. Time is running out!

-Greg Campbell  
Lexington, Ky.



By Samuel Epstein

The great increase in public concern about the effects of toxic chemicals on health and the environment in recent years has led to a rapid expansion in the number and size of federal and state agencies whose nominal purpose is to control pollution. The Federal Drug Administration, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency are examples of attempts to regulate and reduce toxic substances in the environment and the workplace. The ability of such agencies to do their jobs depends on the overall validity of the information they receive and interpret.

The following report, by Samuel S. Epstein, M.D., a leading expert on occupational and environmental medicine, examines the ways in which industry in general resists and undermines the development of the necessary information. Epstein has over a decade of intimate experience analyzing industry data for congressional committees, regulatory agencies and trade unions. His focus here is on data relating to matters of health and safety, but his findings have broad implications about the general process of democratic decision-making in the U.S.

"Extremely grave questions are being raised about the moral standards or ethical behavior of the business world today."

—W. Michael Blumenthal,  
ex-president Bendix Corporation,  
Secretary of the Treasury, May 25, 1975

Decision-making at all levels of government presupposes the availability of a sound body of information, on the basis of which the merits of alternate policies can be analyzed. If this data base is invalid, resulting decisions will also be invalid.

Constraints of data, from gross inadequacy, biased interpretation, manipulation and suppression to outright destruction, are commonplace, especially when profitable products or processes are involved. Evidence of such constraint justifies a priori reservations about the validity of data developed by institutions or individuals whose interests are affected.

An overwhelming amount of benefit and risk data for regulatory decisions comes from the industries being regulated. These data are either generated and interpreted by in-house scientists or by contracting commercial laboratories and universities. In-house scientific staff are often subject to pressures from research and development or marketing departments, anxious to hurry their product into the market. Industrial contracts to commercial laboratories and universities are usually awarded secretly. The contractee, anxious for the award of future contracts, is also not immune to unspoken pressures and tends to produce information or interpretations consistent with the perceived interests of the contracting industry.

Consultants, generally from prestigious universities or research institutes provide the data with an additional mantle of authority. The industrial interests of these consultants (often unknown to the public and to their own institutions) are either not disclosed to the agencies they advise or, if disclosed, are usually kept confidential. A similar tendency to non-disclosure operates in testimony before congressional committees.

#### Constraints in generation of data.

The most common problem with industrially-generated data is its poor quality. Complementing this are faults of design and performance consciously or subconsciously built into toxicological and epidemiological studies. These tend to produce results on the basis of market considerations.

Deeply concerned by the inadequacy of data submitted in 1967 to the FDA by industry in support of food additive petitions, then commissioner Herbert Ley complained:

"Almost half of the food additive petitions originally submitted to the Food and Drug Administration have been incomplete or have not adequately supported the regulation requested and, therefore,

Photos/Paul Sequeira

## IN DEPTH

# Corporate sabotage in the battle against industrial cancer



have require subsequent supplementation, amendment, withdrawal or denial."

There is no evidence that the situation has improved over the last decade, particularly with regard to faults of design and performance of carcinogenicity tests.

The following examples illustrate common patterns of experimental misconduct.

A 1969 review of 17 industrially-sponsored studies on the carcinogenicity of DDT by the Carcinogenicity Panel of the Mrak Commission on Pesticides concluded that 14 of these studies were so inherently defective as to preclude any possible determination of carcinogenicity.

From 1965 to 1970, Allied Chemical Company spent \$500,000 on the carcinogenicity and toxicological testing of the cosmetic food additive Red #40 which was undertaken by Hazelton Laboratories. On the basis of Hazelton's conclusion that the additive was safe, Allied confidently submitted these data to FDA in 1970, and embarked on an ambitious advertising and marketing program. However, not only had Hazelton failed to perform the customary mouse carcinogenicity test, but their rat test was of little value, as most animals died from intercurrent infection early in the test, not leaving enough alive to have detected any but a massive carcinogenic effect.

Carcinogenicity tests in rats of aldrin/dieldrin sponsored by Shell, and of chlordane/heptachlor, sponsored by Velsicol, produced results that were claimed as negative by the industry. In fact, these results were hardly interpretable because such high and toxic doses of both pesticides were fed the animals that many died early in the experiments before they could have developed cancer.

Other data submitted by Shell and Velsicol were used to claim that their pesticides were not carcinogenic in mice, and that the liver lesions induced in them were not really cancers, but just non-malignant hyperplastic nodules. Review by independent experts, however, proved just the contrary. Faced with such major discrepancies and under pressure from Sen. Edward Kennedy, EPA finally reviewed other industry data on pesticides. Twenty-four pesticides were selected on the basis of their highest tolerances on common foods, and their extensive toxicological files, which had been previously submitted by a wide variety of manu-

facturers, were then independently reevaluated by Melvin Reuber on behalf of EPA. In a report of April 9, 1976, it was concluded that with the possible exception of one pesticide, all these data were so inadequate that it was not possible to conclude whether the other pesticides are safe, and whether any hazard is involved in eating common foods with now legal residues.

These and other equally grave deficiencies in the EPA data base on pesticides were discussed in a recent Congressional Staff Report:

"EPA almost exclusively rules upon data submitted by the pesticide companies. This data is the informational linchpin in the Agency's regulatory program. Yet in spite of repeated warnings, beginning at least five years ago, EPA has failed to take corrective action designed to discover and supplement further data."

More serious than inadequacies of data are the numerous examples of manipulation, such as those described in the *Congressional Record* of July 30, 1969. Fraudulent manipulation of data has been established with such drugs as MER/29, for which officials of Richardson-Merrill Co. were criminally convicted; Dornwall, for which Wallace and Tiernan Company were found guilty of submitting false data; Flexin, for which McNeil Laboratories pleaded *nolo contendere* to charges of willfully concealing information; and Panalba, information on whose lack of efficacy, compared with its individual ingredients, was accidentally discovered by an FDA inspector in Upjohn files in March 1968, resulting in the subsequent withdrawal of this drug from the market.

On Jan. 20, 1976, then FDA commissioner Schmidt testified before Sen. Kennedy that Hazelton Laboratories, under contract to G.D. Searle Co., reported on non-existing histological findings in carcinogenicity tests on the drug Aldactone. Hazelton was also charged with falsifying data on the artificial sweetener, Aspartame.

Even worse than these examples of improper or inept design was the fiasco of nitrilotriacetic acid (NTA). In 1970, Monsanto and Procter and Gamble were poised to launch a new type of detergent onto the market, based on NTA instead of phosphates. This would have resulted in the annual discharge of approximately

five billion pounds of the new detergent into the surface waters and ultimately the drinking waters of the U.S. The industries concerned had spent about ten years investigating the toxicological and ecological effects of NTA, concluding that it was noncarcinogenic and that it degraded in water into harmless constituents. In fact, the industries had not done a single test on the nature of the intermediary degradation products of NTA, nor of the possible interaction of such products in water. The industry had also failed to appreciate that degradation was incomplete over a wide range of operating conditions with the resulting likelihood that drinking water could become contaminated with the detergent. These and other considerations led to the withdrawal of NTA from the market, with a loss of some \$300 million to the industries concerned. NTA was subsequently shown in studies sponsored by the National Cancer Institute and the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences to produce cancer of the kidney and ureter in mice and rats.

Similar examples are common in the field of safety testing, whether or drugs, pesticides, food additives, industrial chemicals and even motor cars. For instance, in 1972 Ford Motor Co. massively cheated on emission control certification tests on their new fleet of cars. With approval of the Nixon administration and Department of Justice, the industry managed to ward off a subsequent criminal prosecution and jail sentence by paying \$7 million in fines.

Spearheaded by the Manufacturing Chemists Association and Dow Chemical Co., an essential strategy in the industry attempt to block toxic substances legislation, which had been languishing in Congress for six years prior to its passage on Oct. 11, 1976, was the claim that it would cost too much. In 1975, industry asserted that these costs would be in the range of \$2 billion a year. In contrast, EPA and the General Accounting Office estimates ranged from \$80 to \$200 million, costs which are now seen to be much closer to the reality.

#### Constraints in interpreting data.

Explaining away awkward data is part of the now familiar scenario of constraints. The ingenuity of practitioners of this art knows no bounds, experimental and epidemiological carcinogenicity data being denigrated or dismissed with equal aplomb. Over the years, the industry position on carcinogenicity data has been crystalized, if not caricatured, into a set of self-serving pseudo-scientific dogmas that have been repeated in public forums so often that they have become apparently dignified in the reiterative process.

These myths have been aired on two major occasions: At the 1973 Department of Labor Advisory Committee on Occupational Carcinogens, by industries including Dow, Du Pont, Rohm and Haas and Esso Research, in addition to the Manufacturing Chemists Association and the Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturing Chemists Association; and at the cancellation/suspension hearings on aldrin/dieldrin, by Shell Chemical Co., and on chlordane/heptachlor, by Velsicol Chemical Co. These myths contain the following proposition, which the independent expert scientific community overwhelmingly rejects.

• "Tumorigens are less dangerous than carcinogens."

"Tumorigens are less dangerous than carcinogens." This argument was used at the pesticide hearings to explain away allegedly "benign liver tumors" induced by DDT, aldrin/dieldrin, and chlordane/heptachlor which were hence claimed by industry to be just tumorigens as opposed to carcinogens. Apart from the fact that independent review established that these "tumors" are frank cancers, which in some cases spread to the lungs, they also produced cancers at a wide range of other sites than the liver and hence are clearly carcinogens. There is no conceivable basis for drawing any scientific and regulatory distinctions between allegedly "benign tumors" and cancers induced by administration of carcinogens.

• "Animal carcinogens are less dangerous than human carcinogens." In other words,



the results of animal tests have to be validated by human exposure in the workplace before rigorous controls need to be instituted. This argument was vigorously proposed for various occupational carcinogens, such as dichlorobenzidine and ethyleneimine, for which there are as yet no human data. The argument is still pressed even though the activity of most recently recognized "human" carcinogens, such as diethylstilbestrol and vinyl chloride, was first demonstrated in animal tests.

"Most chemicals are carcinogenic when tested at relatively high concentrations." This is inconsistent with available information. Mice or other animals can be fed with massive doses of most chemicals and will not develop cancer. For instance, in an NCI contract study by Litton Biometrics from 1963 to 1969, approximately 140 industrial compounds and pesticides, selected because of strong suspicions as to their possible carcinogenicity, were tested at maximally tolerated doses in two strains of mice. Less than 10 percent of these compounds were found to be carcinogenic.

Further, of a total of some 6,000 compounds listed in the NCI's "Survey of Compounds Which Have Been Tested for Carcinogenic Activity," only approximately 1,000 have been reported to be carcinogenic. However, by current standards, only half of those tests are considered valid, and a total of about 500 compounds are now accepted as carcinogenic. The compounds on the NCI list were selected on the basis of known similarity to proven carcinogens.

"Safe levels of exposure to carcinogens can be determined." It is alleged that no or negligible risks result from exposure to "low levels" of occupational or environmental carcinogens. These low levels are generally determined on the basis of the sensitivity of available monitoring techniques, technical expediency, or other poorly articulated concepts. For example, the American Conference of Government and Industrial Hygienists has in the past assigned acceptable "Threshold Limit Value" levels for carcinogens such as asbestos, BCME and nickel carbonyl. Expert national and international scientific committees and regulatory agencies are, however, agreed that there is no known mechanism for setting thresholds or safe levels for any chemical carcinogen.

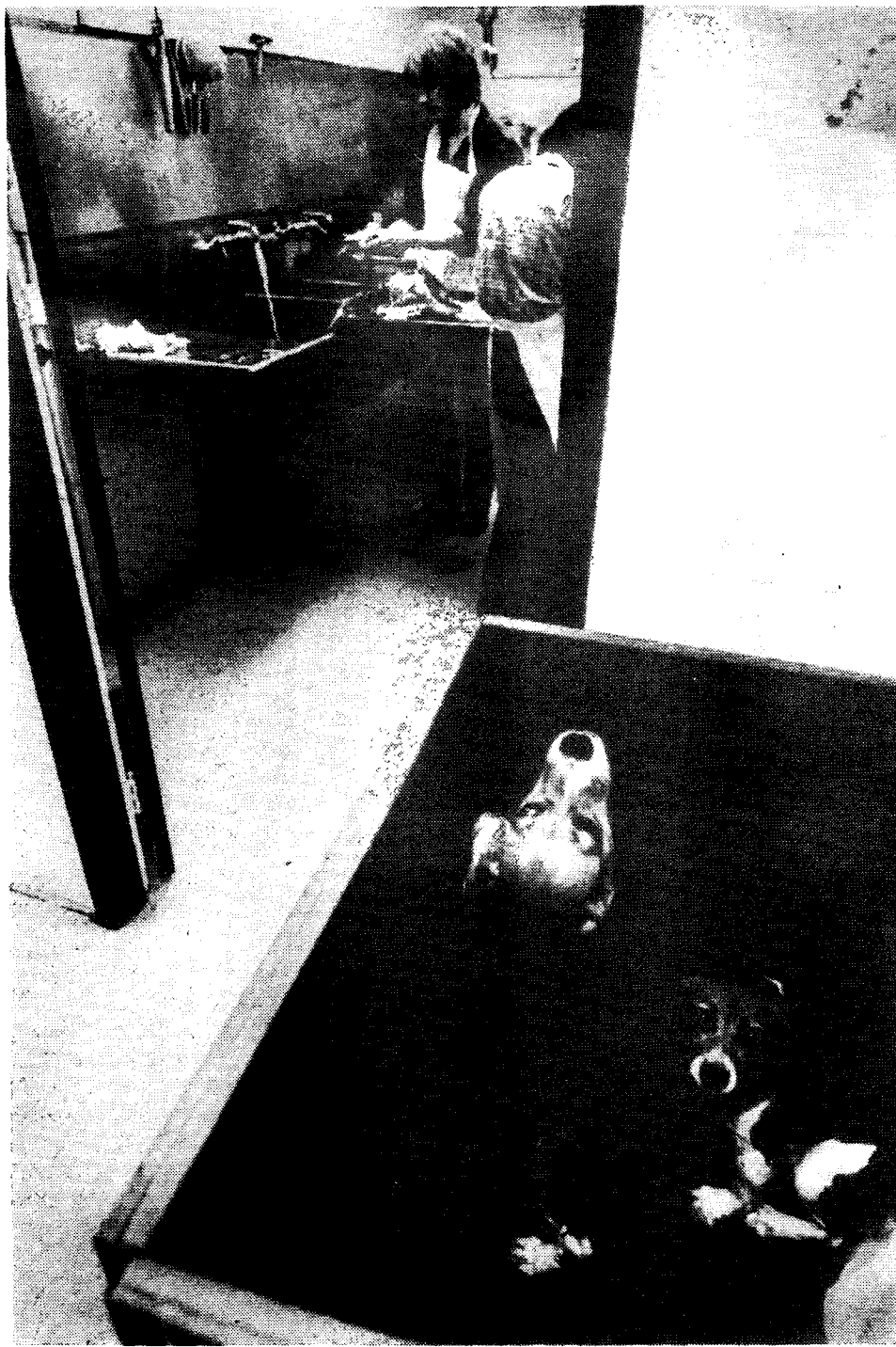
"Human experience has demonstrated the safety of occupational exposure to 'animal carcinogens' or to 'low' levels of human carcinogens." These claims are generally based on a lack of positive evidence of excess cancer deaths, or on the basis of undisclosed or partially accessible records covering small working populations at risk, undefined turnover rates, or short periods of follow-up. Clearly, such data do not permit development of valid inferences, and fail to recognize inherent limitations of epidemiological techniques.

While these various myths cannot withstand elementary scientific scrutiny, they have nevertheless been vigorously and effectively asserted in various public forums and adjudicatory proceedings. Spawned by pressures on industry scientists and consultants to develop and interpret safety data on chemical carcinogenesis consistent with short-term marketing interest, these myths are calculated to minimize the significance of the effects of human exposure to occupational carcinogens.

#### Suppression or destruction of data.

The final possibility for data that can't be designed out of existence or interpreted away is suppression or even destruction. Known instances of this are legion, and probably exceeded in number only by instances that have not yet been discovered. The carcinogenicity of the organochlorine pesticide kepone, besides its toxic effects on the reproductive and central nervous systems, was discovered by studies sponsored by the manufacturer, Allied Chemical, in the early 1960s. Allied suppressed this information for about a subsequent decade, until workers at Life Sciences, an Allied spinoff corporation in Honeywell, Va., developed crippling neurological and other diseases from exposure to very high levels of kepone in grossly deficient working conditions.

In December 1972, Velsicol was informed by its own consultants that chlor-



Experimental dogs at the Industrial Biotest Labs, Northbrook, Ill. The company has been investigated for fraud and destroying data.

## One industry spokesman sees cancer as "one of nature's ways of eliminating sexually effete individuals" who would otherwise compete for natural resources.

dane/heptachlor induced liver cancer in mice, and hence were carcinogenic. However, the company suppressed this information, resulting in their criminal indictment in December 1977 by a Federal Grand Jury.

Reserve Mining Company testified in court in the early 1970s that there were no alternate sites which could be used for the daily disposal of 67,000 tons of asbestos-laden taconite tailings into Lake Superior. In fact, the company had previously developed detailed plans for land disposal sites.

The carcinogenicity of vinyl chloride in rats was re-discovered by Maltoni in 1973. However, the Manufacturing Chemists suppressed this knowledge for over 18 months, until the human evidence could no longer be ignored.

Dow and Du Pont, in the course of the 1973 Department of Labor Advisory Committee on Occupational Carcinogens, admitted "routine destruction" of workers' records after ten years employment, including those exposed to occupational carcinogens, as a matter of company policy.

Industrial Biotest Labs, Northbrook, Ill., faced with federal investigation in April 1977 for fraud and submission of questionable test data, destroyed files dealing with toxicological and carcinogenicity testing of thousands of federally approved products including drugs, pesticides, food additives and industrial chemicals. The president of the company, A.J. Frisque, has admitted that he ordered the shredding of laboratory documents, but claimed that this was due to a "misunderstanding."

Industrial Biotest has also been charged

by Rep. Thomas Downey (D-NY) with having mismanaged toxicological tests by "shoddy, amateurish" laboratory practices on irradiated food in a U.S. Army project dating back to 1953, which has so far cost the taxpayer about \$51 million.

#### How not to improve the data base.

The initial reaction of industry to recently escalating evidence on the constraints of their data base was one of angry denial. Later they reacted by grudging acceptance of the possibility of an occasional unfortunate "slip-up."

Now their response is to increase their toxicological and carcinogenicity testing capabilities. One of the earlier "more-of-the-same" approaches was the creation in 1974 of the Chemical Industry Institute of Toxicology, supported by the leading chemical industries. The Institute has recently moved to a \$10 million new facility in Raleigh, N.C., scheduled for completion by the end of 1978. The Institute is headed by Leon Golberg, a longtime industrial consultant, dedicated to such standard myths as the "benign" nature of liver tumors induced by carcinogenic pesticides. Golberg, who claims that his institute is oriented toward the "public good," is highly critical of EPA for their "crisis approach" to toxic chemicals and of the NCI because their carcinogenicity testing procedures are "likely to produce false positives." The Institute's current research activities are being done by outside consulting laboratories, prominent among whom has been Industrial Biotest Laboratories.

Industry has reacted negatively to the recent pressure by OSHA to develop gen-

eric standards for occupational carcinogens, which were largely designed to obviate protracted rule-making on an individual case-by-case basis. The Manufacturing Chemists Association has created and financed an *ad hoc* organization, the "American Industrial Health Council," especially to "assist" OSHA in modifying the proposed regulations, *inter alia*, to more clearly reflect benefit-risk considerations. The thrust of the industry contribution is well illustrated in the February written testimony of one of its consultants, Francis J. C. Roe:

"Cancer in its many forms is undoubtedly a natural disease. It is probably one of nature's many ways of eliminating sexually effete individuals who would otherwise, in nature's view, compete for available food resources without advantage to the species as a whole."

#### How to improve the data base.

Approaches now being developed by FDA, EPA and other agencies include formalized inspection, selective auditing and monitoring, and licensing of testing laboratories, with increased penalties for manipulation or suppression of data. But contracts still seem to be awarded to laboratories found guilty of such practices. Additionally, these "band-aid" approaches do not address the inherent conflict of interest, which remains unchanged.

Over the years, Sen. Nelson has attempted to encourage the concept of a "third party testing" particularly of drugs, by federal laboratories at cost to the industry concerned. Congress has recently recognized this problem by allocating an extra \$16.6 million to the FDA in 1977 to insure quality control of the data submitted to the agency in support of the products it regulates.

Clearly more radical approaches are required to free testing from the crippling constraints of corporate influences. One of these is based on the introduction of a neutral "buffer" between those who test and those whose product is being tested. This buffer concept was proposed by the author at congressional hearings about five years ago.

Industry could be protected from the possibility of incompetent work by requiring a testing contractee to post an indemnifying bond, should tests have to be repeated because they were bungled or for any other reason. Some form of limited liability provisions could also be built into a buffer system. This could insure that industry complying with these requirements would be protected from possible open-ended future testing needs, and also from legal responsibility from future adverse effects not disclosed by properly conducted tests.

This proposed approach seems more consistent with avowed industrial practice than is the present practice of secret award of unbidded contracts to commercial testing laboratories. It would also free top level corporate management from influences in the lower corporate structure who are over-responsive to short-term marketing interests at the expense of long-term stability and growth.

Finally, there must be greater appreciation of the enormity and public health consequences of the manipulation or suppression of toxicological, epidemiological and other data on health, safety and exposure. While there is commonplace acceptance of medical malpractice suits, the strong threat of laboratory and professional malpractice suits is clearly needed to police the practice of toxicology, epidemiology and safety assessment. The concept of homicide or assault by toxic chemicals is a serious variant of the white-collar crime. The recognition and social stigmatization of those involved in these crimes are long over-due. Maximal legal and criminal penalties, extending to manslaughter charges, should be directed against all directly or indirectly involved in such practices.

(©1978 Samuel S. Epstein)

Samuel S. Epstein is professor of occupational and environmental medicine at the University of Illinois, Chicago. The contents of this article are dealt with more extensively in a book by the author, *Politics of Cancer*, which will be published this fall by the Sierra Club, San Francisco and New York.



# TURNIP-SEED

Continued from page 3.

morning news, and *Newsweek* mentioned him as a politician worth watching.

Turnipseed's credibility was further enhanced when a prominent black Columbia attorney became the Association's legal counsel and instituted a suit challenging the constitutionality of a state law that allowed utilities to collect rate increases under bond pending approval from the PSC.

## Political ambitions.

Turnipseed claimed in the summer of 1973 that the Association had 4,000 dues-paying members and predicted that a fall membership drive would produce 200,000 new members "who are tired of this state being at the bottom of everything that matters." The membership drive never materialized; in November, the Association's staff resigned amidst charges that Turnipseed was interested only in seeking public office. Turnipseed denied the charges, but a few months later, the Association was defunct and Turnipseed announced he would oppose state attorney general Dan McLeod in the July Democratic primary.

Turnipseed relied on volunteers to run his campaign while he intervened in new rate hike hearings before the PSC. When he began to gain in the polls, McLeod's supporters panicked and conducted a well-financed campaign in the black community playing up Turnipseed's segregationist background. Turnipseed lost, but the margin was small enough to force a reconsideration of the claim that Turnipseed was a demagogue without a following.

Turnipseed's political fortunes improved in 1976. He ran as a Democrat in one of the state's few predominantly Republican senatorial districts and defeated his Democrat-turned-Republican opponent by 17,000 votes. During the campaign Turnipseed used tabloids and television spots to attack his opponent for accepting retainer fees from a state-regulated railroad, and he promised to speak out on the senate floor for fundamental reform in state government.

The South Carolina Senate is an all-white, all-male body steeped in tradition, and while debates often become heated, gentlemanly conduct is the first rule. Turnipseed was quick to show his disdain for the aristocratic heritage. His open-collared shirts and casual attire are in marked contrast to the three-piece suits and robes of office worn by other senators. His maiden speech was a direct attack on the senate leadership. He cited a nationwide study that found the state general assembly to be fiftieth in functionality, a situation he attributed to a state constitution that places all power in the legislative branch, and a seniority system that allows "a small group of old men" to control government.

Turnipseed joined several freshman senators in an attempt to revise senate rules to provide for a more equitable distribution of committee assignments. When the effort failed, Turnipseed lashed out at the senate's two most senior members, charging them with conflicts of interest. (Senate finance chairman Rembert Dennis, whose law firm received more

than \$200,000 in utility retainer and legal fees over a ten-year period, had been a favorite Turnipseed target for years.) On the senate floor, Turnipseed described the fees as little more than bribery.

The bills introduced by Turnipseed during his first senate session are consistent with the themes he has voiced over the last five years. In general, they attempt to reduce conflicts of interest in the general assembly, to reform utility rate structures and regulation, and to provide for a more equitable distribution of power.

None of Turnipseed's bills were reported out of committee last session, resulting in criticism that his abrasive manner and refusal to work "within the system" have made him ineffective as a senator.

Turnipseed disagrees and points to a growing sentiment in the general assembly to alter the selection of PSC commissioners as evidence that his style has been effective with voters. "Besides," he says, "I'm not here to 'work' with the legislature; I'm here to change the legislature."

"Turnipseed Has Appeal, But Can He Govern?" the state's largest daily newspaper asked a few days after he announced his candidacy for governor. The columnist questioned Senator Turnipseed's "mercurial temperament and slashing style," yet still admitted, "He might be able to put together a rare combination of voters: retirees, working-class whites, blacks and liberals. He must be considered a serious contender."

## Don't have to be powerless.

"I don't think voters generally perceive him as demagogic or unbalanced," another state political analyst says. "They seem to be attracted to what they see as righteous indignation. I think voters for the most part feel powerless, and they're

ready to respond to someone who's telling them they don't have to be powerless."

Some observers think Turnipseed can lead the ticket in a three- or four-way primary if he can convince black voters that his racism has been exorcized. He appears to be making progress. Last spring he joined black leaders in an unsuccessful attempt to block passage of a new capital punishment law. On the senate floor, he has frequently criticized state agencies for failure to place more blacks in executive positions, and he has appealed to the white business community to "recognize our collective guilt" and support affirmative action programs.

Turnipseed's willingness to speak out in favor of collective bargaining for public employees and on other issues of importance to organized labor has earned him the support of state labor council president Jim Adler and is expected to produce contributions from national labor organizations.

His relationship with former Wallace supporters is unclear; some have accused him of "selling out to the NAACP," but others are volunteering to work in his campaign—evidence, Turnipseed says, that the time is right for a black-white political coalition.

Turnipseed estimates he will spend \$150,000 in his campaign—considerably less than the \$700,000 spent by reform candidate Charles "Pug" Ravenel in his aborted 1974 race. He says fundraisers are concentrating on small contributions, sales of turnip-related novelties, and "meet the next governor" cocktail parties.

Professional political consultants say Turnipseed's \$150,000 won't be enough, but he believes he can cut costs by severely limiting advertising. "I'm not going to

run a traditional campaign. I plan to spend most of my time in the senate working on legislation and fighting for the people. I'd rather have 30 seconds on the news because I'm out doing something for the people."

Turnipseed will probably face three opponents in the June 1978 primary—Lt. Gov. Brantley Harvey, former state senator Richard Riley, and former congressman Bryan Dorn. All three are moderates and long-time members of the state's Democratic leadership.

Harvey, who has most of the traditional money behind him and is supported by many older black leaders, is considered by some to be the front-runner at this point, with Turnipseed close behind. Harvey's Beaufort law firm has received retainers from a regulated utility and some of his supporters fear Turnipseed will be able to dump rising energy costs in Harvey's lap.

Leaders of the struggling state Republican party would like to see Turnipseed emerge as the Democratic primary victor. In their scenario, Democrats who fear Turnipseed will then join with Republicans to defeat him in November.

Turnipseed believes he will receive a majority of votes on the first ballot and avoid a runoff, but few observers agree. "Unless he does something really outrageous, I think he'll make the runoff," one political consultant says. "If he does, you can bet his opponents will try to combine forces. I mean, let's face it; he's a threat to their whole way of life. There'll be an all-out effort to stop him."

John Norton, a former editor of a weekly newspaper in Columbia, S.C., is now a free-lance writer there. This article originally appeared in *SOUTHERN EXPOSURE* (P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, NC 27514).



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## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## SPORTS

# Watch Boston and Montreal in NHL playoffs

By Gary Kulik

**W**ELL HOCKEY FANS, THE Stanley Cup playoffs are underway and we'll be lucky if they end before June. Don't worry if you missed the first games. The opening round will have little to do with deciding the National Hockey League's new champion. Dismayed in recent years by falling attendance and the uneven distribution of talent, NHL owners have devised a playoff formula that includes more teams than it eliminates.

Twelve of the league's 18 teams will see post-season action. Among the likely luminaries will be the pathetic Vancouver Canucks, a team that has lost more than 40 games this season. By contrast, the Montreal Canadiens, hockey's premier team, have lost fewer than 20 games in the last two years.

So don't expect good, competitive hockey in the first round, and don't get your hopes too high for the quarterfinals. The purpose of the first two rounds is to hype attendance in the waning days of the season, to provide otherwise hopeless teams with a path to the playoffs and the promise of a few fat crowds before the ice melts into summer.

Hockey's troubles are complex. Expansion and the emergence of a rival pro league, the World Hockey Association, have diluted the quality of NHL play. With its market largely limited to Canada and the northern U.S., pro hockey has consistently failed to maintain national TV contracts. Ruled by a clique of selfish and cantankerous owners, with the approach of 19th-century robber barons, the NHL has never had the kind of "progressive" leadership necessary to navigate the troubled financial waters of post-World War II pro sports. The most recent result has been a widening gap between the teams that have and the teams that have not.

For the last five years or so, the league has been dominated by five teams—Montreal, Boston, Philadelphia, Buffalo, and the New York Islanders—the only teams to return significant profits in 1976-77. The once strong New York Rangers have collapsed. The Chicago Black Hawks have faded. This year, only Toronto has shown sufficient improvement to rate inclusion among the league's elite. Nobody else is close.

So there are six good teams. Four of them will meet in the semi-finals—you can bet your yearly beer budget on it. Montreal and Boston will be two of these teams—you can bet your beer budget for two years on it. The other two teams will be the Islanders, who will beat Toronto in the quarterfinals, and the Philly Flyers, who will beat the Buffalo Sabres, the team most likely to disappoint its fans once again.

In late April we'll finally get down to it. The Canadiens, the classiest, most talented team in hockey, will meet the Flyers—and win, in five games. The Boston Bruins, the league's most consistently hard-working team, will meet the Islanders—and win, in six games.

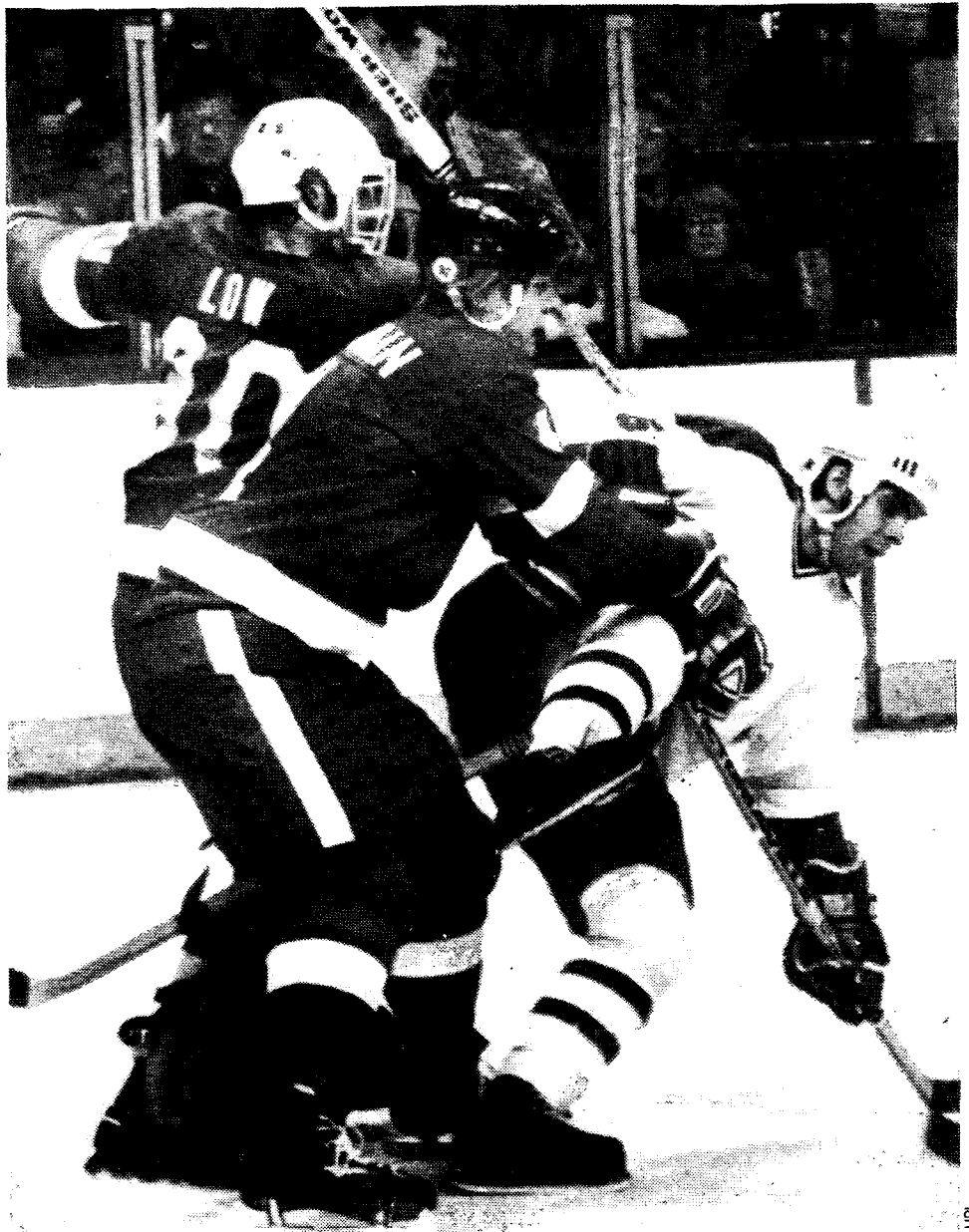
It will be the Bruins and the Canadiens in the finals—just like last year. A classic match—the swift, explosive Canadiens against the workmanlike, hard-checking Bruins. Once again, the issue will be

It will be the Canadiens and the Bruins in the finals—just like last year. Expect a classic match—the swift, explosive Canadiens vs. the Hard-checking Bruins.

whether the Bruins' rugged forechecking can contain Montreal's wide-open attack, whether Boston's well-balanced offense can crack the league's best defense. Last year, it was no contest. The Canadiens won in four straight.

This year, the Canadiens' defense is deeper, and Guy Lafleur is still the finest player in hockey. Only the second player in NHL history to score 50 or more goals in four consecutive seasons, Lafleur will be this year's scoring champ for the third season in a row.

The Bruins, meanwhile, have improved their defense and their goaltending. They are led by Terry O'Reilly, the hustling rightwing who entered the league in the early '70s as one of the worst skaters and shooters in pro hockey. A former Canadiens' coach once said, with sardonic cruel-



Red Wings goalie Ron Low and defenseman Thommie Bergman take out Canadien's Rejean Houle in first period action in the first game of the Stanley Cup quarter finals.

ty, "He seems to have trouble standing up." Well, O'Reilly is standing up, knocking people down, leading the team in points—leading the Boston Bruins in points, the team once led by the likes of Orr and Esposito.

The Canadiens still will win, but in five games rather than four. They will win be-

cause they are quicker, deeper, more talented, and because they carry the public burden of French-Canadian nationalism on their shoulders. They are not about to disappoint their fans, the most critical and intelligent in pro sports.

Gary Kulik follows hockey for IN THESE TIMES.

## MEDIA

## Chicago's Voice of Labor is no more

By Paul Gregor and Jack Burden

**R**ADIO STATION WCFL, FOR 52 years the Chicago Federation of Labor's "Voice of Labor" and the only labor-owned station in the country, has been sold to the Mutual Broadcasting System for an estimated \$12 million, pending FCC approval. Mutual was itself recently purchased by Richard DeVos and Jay Van Andel of Amway Cosmetics, and if the new owners have their way, WCFL may become the anti-union "Voice of God."

WCFL was the inspiration of John Fitzpatrick, the innovative president of the CFL in the teens and '20s. Through the station and the federation's paper, *The New Majority*, Fitzpatrick hoped to promote independent labor politics, expand labor's role in society and resist the reactionary wave that followed the 1919 Red Scare. But, while the station was used in organizing campaigns during the '20s and '30s, commercial success and revenue came to dominate its programming orientation in later years.

The new owners, by contrast, represent various pro-business political-action groups. A close friend of former President Gerald Ford, Van Andel is chairman of Citizen's Choice, a heavily funded right-wing lobbying organization that has taken swipes at workers' compensation and calls for the "prohibition of public employees' strikes."

DeVos speaks the same tongue as his

partner, with more religious fervor. A major contributor to the George Wallace-founded American party, DeVos is also a board member of the National Association of Manufacturers, whose long-standing anti-union activities have escalated recently with the establishment of the organization's "Council for a Union-Free Environment." DeVos' heaven-sent greenbacks also support Bill Bright's Campus Crusade for Christ and the Christian Freedom Foundation. The CFF, which conducts widespread lobbying for the election of born-again Christians, boasts a "Christian Embassy" in Washington, campaign coffers of over \$30 million, and collection plate stuffers like Adolph Coors and Nelson Bunker Hunt.

The station's sale was approved at a special CFL meeting on Friday, April 7. Despite the short notice and unannounced purpose of the "special session," and a tradition of low attendance, the meeting hall was filled. As one delegate observed, "Bill Lee [CFL president] was concerned that there might be opposition, so he called in the troops.... I never saw it so packed. When the Building Trade Delegates are there, you know something's up."

It took just a few minutes for the delegates to discover the reason for the meeting, nod their affirmation, and recess. Tom Faul, CFL secretary-treasurer, briefly mentioned the station's operating difficulties and reported that the executive board recommended the station's sale. A motion to support the board's recommendation was passed without debate and without a single dissenting vote.

Eighty-two-year-old president Lee then took the floor to explain the sale, mentioning a meeting with George Meany in which Meany told him that "labor should not be in any business." Lee carefully avoided any mention of either the new owners or the purchase price. In fact, the 15 minute meeting contained no reference whatsoever to the principals involved in the sale.

Although the new owners told the *Chicago Sun-Times* that the "decision to purchase WCFL was based solely on business considerations," they have previously expressed the intention to start an "alternative network" to "restore balance" to the "slanted" media. With their recent \$18 million purchase of the Mutual Broadcasting System and its 800 affiliates, they seem to be well on their way to achieving that goal.

As for WCFL, programming changes have not been mentioned or discussed. Station manager Jim Frank expressed the confusion of many when he moaned, "Don't ask me. I don't know what's going on here!"

WCFL, the "Voice of Labor" since 1925, may have never realized Fitzpatrick's dream or the vision of many Chicago labor radicals as it broadcast Country-Western, Top 40 Rock, and finally Beautiful Music in its desperate attempt to keep commercial revenue coming in. Nevertheless, few thought that WCFL would ever become a voice of the past.

Paul Gregor and Jack Burden are writers in Chicago.



# MUSIC

## Punk Folk Rock & All That Jazz

### WOMEN'S JAZZ FESTIVAL IN K.C. NOT FOR WOMEN ONLY

Something new was to be heard in Charlie Parker's old town last March—the sound of women musicians coming together at the First Women's Jazz Festival.

The event was put together by Women's Jazz Festival, Inc., a "non-profit, non-political organization" that sees its role on the one hand as "promoting the female jazz musician, who has, as they put it, "been somewhat stigmatized by her choice of profession" and, on the other hand, more generally promoting jazz itself.

The festival's organizers were careful not to identify themselves with feminism. Consequently, while the quality of the music was high, putting to rest once and for all the myth that women can't play jazz, the level of feminist consciousness was narrowly defined around career issues.

The festival combined music clinics, jams and a full evening of well-known artists in performance. While many male jazz musicians appeared on the bill, it was the women who were featured.

Appropriately, the festival was dedicated to Bettye Miller, the vocalist, who was a Kansas City legend until her death in 1977.

The Marian McPartland duo opened the concert. In addition to her talents as a pianist, McPartland owns her own record company, Halcyon, an independent label that features women jazz artists, and she is presently writing a book on women in jazz.

(McPartland's 58th birthday, which fell on the day following, was celebrated later in the evening's program with a musical tribute from her sister performers.)

Next, the commanding presence of vocalist Betty Carter held the audience spellbound through her performance of a wide range of tunes. She shifts suddenly from ballads to up tempo, scatting with ease and without sacrificing her intensity in either idiom. Like McPartland, Carter records for her own label, Bet-Car Records.

The first half of the concert ended on an up note with the appearance of the Women's Jazz Festival All Stars: Dottie Dodgion (drums), Mary Osborne (guitar), Janice Robinson (trombone), Lynn Milano (bass), Mary Fetting Park (tenor saxophone and flute) and Marian McPartland (piano). The band, which had rehearsed together for the first time the night before, played mostly standards. (I particularly liked Janice Robinson's muted trombone solo on an Ellington piece.) The powerful visual impact of a jazz band composed entirely of women was matched by the calibre of their music.

The legendary pianist, Mary Lou Williams, who comes out of the Kansas City jazz tradition, led off the second half of the program. Williams had played earlier in the day at Kansas City's Immaculate Conception Cathedral, with her trio and a choir, in a performance of her own composition, "Mary Lou's Mass."

A recent convert to Catholicism, Williams had talked to reporters the previous day about her feeling that "music is healing to the soul." In her mass, she illustrated it on piano before a full church. In addition, she preceeded the mass with an oral history of jazz, tracing the roots of the music from the spiritual to the rag, then to the blues, to Kansas City and finally to boogie woogie.

Williams presently teaches jazz and jazz history at Duke University. She recently played a much-publicized piano duet with modernist Cecil Taylor in New York. While her own musical tastes are rooted in the swing and bebop eras, she continues to break new ground.

The closing artist of the concert was Toshiko Akiyoshi, who was accompanied by her big band that features her husband, Lew Tabackin, on tenor saxophone and flute. The band is all-male, but the compositions are all Akiyoshi's. As she said to women in the audience that night, "The band would not exist without my music." By the time they had finished playing their set, people were dancing in the aisles—a testimony to the vitality of Akiyoshi's talent.

While all the performers in the concert were established artists, many young women musicians

had traveled from other parts of the country for the event, and many of them were up late into the night on Saturday, jamming with the festival's stars.

One such woman is 23-year-old Jane Ira Bloom, a saxophonist composer from New Haven, Conn. She plays soprano and alto in a variety of musical groupings, has written for duet, quartet and big band, and hopes to record this summer for the first time.

Creative young artists like Bloom are a part of the women's jazz scene that the festival should do more to showcase next year. Also, it would be nice if the \$500 jazz scholarship was given to a woman instead of a man next time around.

Despite the emphasis of jazz culture rather than women's culture and on established talent rather than up and coming young artists, the first Women's Jazz Festival was an important beginning in a field where much remains to be done in the future.

—Ron Sakolsky

*Ron Sakolsky teaches at Sangamon State University in Springfield, Ill., and writes regularly on jazz for IN THESE TIMES.*

*People interested in having a group representing the Women's Jazz Festival perform and/or do clinics and workshops in their community should write Women's Jazz Festival, Inc., P.O. Box 22321, Kansas City, MO 64113.*

### STARSHIP IN ORBIT WITH A NEW CREW ON EARTH

**EARTH**  
Jefferson Starship  
(Grunt Records)

The Jefferson Starship is more than a rock'n'roll band; they are a musical institution that has, in various incarnations, been a dominant musical force since the mid-1960s.

Always San Francisco-based, they were originally the Jefferson Airplane, with whom more than any other group we associate both the acid-laced summers of love and the angry years of direct confrontation. The Airplane faded from prominence after the Wood-

stock Festival in 1969. Their last album, *Volunteers*, seemed an anachronism in the "Me Decade," and although various solo and collaborative efforts emerged during the next six years out of the Airplane nexus, none seemed to capture the earlier magic.

Reorganized as the Jefferson Starship, the group has been making a serious comeback. The center continues to be the original core members of the Airplane: Paul Kantner, Marty Balin and Grace Slick. But they have found a stable and competent band around which to build a new sound: drummer Johnny Barbata (ex-Turtles), bass/keyboards David Freiberg (ex-Quicksilver) and Pete Sears, and guitarist Craig Chaquico.

Their *Red Octopus* album (1975) sold well over a million copies. Their latest release, *Earth*, is one of the most exciting records from the Airplane-Starship in years.

Marty Balin sings the upbeat "Crazy Feelin'" and the light rocker "Count on Me" with the same AM-hit potential that made "Miracles" such a smash. Grace Slick continues to contribute distinctive vocals. On "Love Too Good," which opens the album, her soaring voice rescues a slightly overlong and overproduced set. "Take Your Time" and "Show Yourself" are patented Slick com-

positions, overtly political and somewhat obvious. The former tries to say too much with too little musical development, but the latter is a fine hymn to post-bicentennial America.

Starship founder Paul Kantner has faded into the background for this commercially minded album. His lone effort is the celestially anthemic "All Nite Long," which features the finest harmonies of the record. Guitarist Chaquico adds a driving rocker about his favorite sport, "Skateboard," which has nice harmonies but pretentious lyrics.

As a confirmed supergroup, Jefferson Starship is composed of a number of exceptional talents. In the past their records have often been a collection of disparate parts with the stars contributing their individual talents and the rest of the band providing a predictable backup.

The band is solid now, and the stars subordinate much of their individual talent to the effort of the whole. At times *Earth* still is a conglomerate of individual turns. At other times, the Starship forms a musical whole that delights the ear and promises much for the future.

—Michael S. Kimmel

*Michael S. Kimmel is a free-lance writer in Berkeley who reviews records regularly for IN THESE TIMES.*



Betty Carter at Women's Jazz Festival



## STILL FARTHER OUT, OR AFTER OUTCAST ROCK, WHAT?

### THIS YEAR'S MODEL

Elvis Costello  
(Columbia)

*This Year's Model* shows that one of last year's most promising rock newcomers was no fluke. Elvis Costello's seemingly endless supply of anger and determination to get back at those who've done him wrong carries him through a second excellent album in less than a year.

The combination of Costello's vengeful lyrics and a sparse and hard instrumental backing with his neo-punk appearance and pissed-off demeanor creates its own sub-genre—outcast rock. One of his favorite devices is an ironic use of pop music's cliché song titles to accentuate his sense of distance and alienation. Thus, in "You Belong to Me" he says, "I don't want anybody saying you belong to me," and the line "If I'm gonna go down, you're gonna come with me" belies the sentiments of the song title "Hand in Hand."

The sources of Costello's anger and concerns are broader than personal relations. "This Year's Girl," perhaps the best song on the album, is about the shallowness of male fantasies about women like Cheryl Tiegs and Farrah Fawcett-Majors, the models and actresses whose images adorn the covers of countless magazines. And "Radio, Radio" is a genuinely radical attack on the way radio "anesthetizes" critical thought:

*They say you better listen to the voice of reason*

*But they don't give you any choice cause they think it's treason*

*So you had better do what you are told*

*You better listen to the radio.*

Costello has mastered the technique of writing short, catchy rock songs. The power of his words and vocal style compensates for his barely adequate guitar work and the mediocre contribution of his back-up band, the Attractions.

In fact, it is his lyrical emphasis

that most clearly distinguishes Costello from the best of Britain's punk bands, with whom he shares an angry, noncomplacent perspective and a minimalist musical form. He is a Dylanesque punk, a performer who combines the excitement and passion of the punks with a free-flowing lyrical style.

The punk critique of the rock music establishment, which I think is largely correct, is that many rich and pampered superstars have lost touch with their roots and the anger, frustration, and sharpness that produced their most important work. While bitterness and frustration will not by themselves make great music, in the hands of a performer like Elvis Costello they provide the themes and determination that have created a rock music as provocative and challenging as exists today.

—Bruce Dancis

## HALLELUJAHS FOR WAGNER'S HIGH ENERGY HOBO

### HOB0

Bodie Wagner  
(Philo Records)

The first time I saw Bodie Wagner, he was passing through Yellow Springs, Ohio, where I was doing my weekly radio program of folk music on the community station WYSO. The bluegrass DJs brought him up to do a short live stint. He was wearing a head-to-foot leather outfit. (which meant that he rode the

rails a lot) and complaining about the lack of beer, which finally caused him to leave.

The next time I ran into Bodie was on a west coast tour with humorist/singer/hobo/songwriter/wobbly/anarchist Utah Phillips. Bodie seemed to be a miniature Phillips, making lousy puns, singing train-hopping songs, talking about truck driving, lost love and life on the folk festival circuit.

Now Bodie Wagner has an album out, and a lot of folk and country music listeners are happy to find it available in record stores around the country. (Actually, the album's been out for quite a while, but it takes time for record stores to pick up small label records.)

Several of the tunes on the album are high-energy travelling songs, such as "Chugga Tramp," "I've Been on the Road So Long," and "Woolly Bum Man." They preach the age-old gospel of how great it is to be on the road, not tied down, and who cares if you're starving...?

Some see this as a part of the macho "man-on-the-road" illusion, but those who've done it usually understand that the difference between being poor in one place and going a bit hungry on the road is that the latter is more often by choice, which makes it easier to take.

During the Vietnam war, Bodie chose to drive a truck for Goodwill as a CO over driving a tank for Uncle Sam. His truck-driving songs are some of the best of recent times. Bodie's long-haulers are real people who often resent the image put on them by the media.

In "I'd Like to Say I'm Proud," he sings:

*Well some folks  
call us fools  
and others say  
we're bad,  
But this diesel rig  
I'm drivin'  
is the only life  
I've had...  
And some folks  
think I ride the  
road and never  
feel no pain,  
But when you're  
always rollin'  
round,  
sometimes friends  
are hard to gain.  
There are few*

*Continued  
on page 22.*

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Elvis Costello

CBS Records



Continued from page 21.

straight-out love songs on the album, one about a city and two about women. Bodie's sense of romance derives a bit too much from the old "I've got a girl at the end of the road" for my tastes, but they are beautiful tunes and a whole lot more human than the mechanical of much of today's popular love music.

One of my favorites is called "America," a very personal tune, easy to relate to, about the day the Vietnam war was over. Many songs that came out of that time expressed the sense of victory felt by people in the anti-war movement. This is different. Although it's clear which side Bodie was on, "America" expresses to those who were not entirely sure what was going on over there some important feelings of loss and confusion. It's almost a love song to the U.S., questioning, probing, reminding us to ask the question, "Why?"

Bodie Wagner can get enough gigs nowadays to have a choice of riding something beside the rails. But he is still singing those good, clear, energetic, thoughtful, beautiful songs. His voice is unique and varied. His album is a welcome addition to the folk country music scene.

—Ed Schoenfeld

*Hobo is available from Philo Records, The Barn, N. Ferrisburg, VT 05473.*

*Ed Schoenfeld is a folk musician based in Oakland, Calif.*

## IS THERE A PASSIONATE IRONIST IN THE EXCITABLE BOY?

### EXCITABLE BOY

Warren Zevon  
(Asylum)

Rock's passionate ironist, Zevon is an L.A. smoothie who deals in images of casual terror. His best songs, like the title tune here, have the feeling of *Carrie*, a miniature schlock masterpiece that worked because Sissy Spacek went from a cutie to a screamer in the most mundane setting.

Zevon's debut a year ago was



Warren Zevon

promising, Linda Ronstadt parlayed one of his tunes, "Poor, Poor Pitiful Me" into a hit. But that album was marred by murky Jackson Browne production.

This time the production (by Browne and Zevon) is clean as a whistle, and the music runs like clockwork. Zevon's voice—by no means a great instrument—is mixed high, and the passion comes through.

Musically, the album ranges from Grateful Dead disco ("Night-time In the Switching Yard") to the moody "Veracruz," a sad and lovely meditation on American imperialism. A linchpin tune is "Accidentally Like a Martyr," a true and moving song about the death of love and accident of loneliness.

The first few times you hear this, it may not hit. There's an ease to it that may make you think it is only smooth. But listen: there in the midst of a flawless production is a new twist, a twist peculiar to Zevon.

The man knows what he's doing: telling us about the edge. He lives in L.A., a nexus of earth faults and the world's best and biggest fantasy factory. As part

of the music machine, he's in position to send out bulletins of sanity in the form of songs. And the fact that he's close to the quicksand makes his bulletins peculiarly urgent.

—Carlo Wolff

*Carlo Wolff is editor of the Vermont Vanguard.*

## RASCALS AND RASPBERRIES IN HEAVY METAL POP ALBUM

### FOTOMAKER

Fotomaker  
(Atlantic)

A polished debut, this album features two former Young Rascals, a former member of the Raspberries and two newcomers who combine forces to come up with a smooth, heavy metal, pop album.

Fotomaker sounds a little like Bad Company, but the feeling is lighter, the music more hummable. On newcomer Lex Marchesi's "Can I Please Have Some More," the band offers a yearn-

ing melody, contrasts it with a break that signals the demand implied in the title, and takes the tune out over former Rascal Dino Danelli's clean, whipsaw drumming.

The dynamics don't vary much from tune to tune, but the sound is a reason to come back to the album. With production by Eddie Kramer (famous for his work with Hendrix, Led Zeppelin and Kiss) and Ron and Howard Albert (noted for their work on the vocals of Crosby Stills & Nash), Fotomaker has managed to create a sound that is both pretty and powerful.

The songs touch on conventionally romantic themes, man saying to woman that she doesn't love him enough and he would do anything for her if only... Consequently, the lyrics don't stick; "Every time you fall in love you get burned" is not precisely an original concept.

Like the Foreigner debut last year, this album is a slick and sonically convincing product. And it would not be surprising if Fotomaker went places, like Foreigner.

## MICK GREEN AND FRIENDS REGROUP AFTER 13 YEARS

### OUT OF THEIR SKULLS

The Pirates  
(Warner Brothers)

The Pirates were one of England's first power trios.

From 1960 to 1964 the group introduced a sound that the British music scene had never experienced. With Mick Green playing a guitar that sounded like lead and rhythm at the same time, the Pirates became an inspiration for groups like the Who, the Yardbirds and Dr. Feelgood.

The band broke up early in the rock explosion and waited 13 years before they regrouped. It has been worth the wait. Green is a unique guitarist, the driving force behind the trio and a marvel to listen to. Frank Farley plays drums; Johnny Spence plays bass and carries the vocal chores.

While supergroups like the Rolling Stones have been accused of going soft (partly because of success, partly because they are entering middle age), the Pirates' sound is still fresh, vital and threatening. They're hard-working and play for a public interested in their ideas.

Half of this album is studio recorded, half live in a small club. It's hard to tell the difference. Overdubs are minimal because Green already sounds like two guitarists playing at once and the group only knows how to play flat out.

If you like hard driving, intelligent, passionate small club rock, this is it. The first generation has returned to the music world.

—Joe Heumann

*Joe Heumann reviews music and films for IN THESE TIMES.*



The Fotomakers

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## AMERICAN HOT WAX RINGS BACK THE DAYS OF ROCK AS REBELLION

### AMERICAN HOT WAX

reen play by Art Linson and John Kaye  
irected by Floyd Mutrux  
aramount, Rated PG

The best way to see *American Hot Wax* is in a crowded theater surrounded by rock fans who will sway to the music and cheer to the triumph of Jerry Lee Lewis over the local police. In the right atmosphere, it can be a ball to watch; but without it, *Hot Wax* is just another cheapo pop flick.

The dramatic content is of throwaway quality. Take for example the grand finale—D.J. Alan Freed's First Anniversary Rock and Roll Show. The IRS seizes the show office receipts! Jerry Lee Lewis is late! The kids are screaming for more! The cops want to turn on the lights! But Chuck Berry saves the day by offering to play for free!

"Rock and roll's been pretty good to me," he says philosophically. "I'll do this one for rock and roll."

The film isn't so much the history of rock and roll, as some of the advertising implies, as a biography of Freed, here portrayed as a regular hero, who defies station managers, family and the FBI to spin one more Little Richard platter. (Tim McIntire plays the part of the pudgy, bow-tied balding little finger-popper with feverish devotion.)

Music is the main reason to see the film. A steady stream of the best early rockers—Eddie Cochran, Buddy Holly, the Coasters, Everly Brothers, Drifters—pours from Freed's turntable. And his rallying cry—"You might stop me, but you can never stop rock and roll!" is all the more effective because 20 years later we know he was right.

The spirit shown in *American Hot Wax* is a joyous rebellion of bored teenagers against the dos and don'ts and that's-the-way-it-is of society, and by its very nature could only grow stronger in the face of opposition, whether from parents, teachers, or the forces of law and order.

The only thing capable of destroying it was acceptance.

Since the salad days of Elvis, Buddy Holly *et al.* there's been many a kid whose "life was saved by rock and roll." Some of the best of these songs from the '50s and early '60s are featured in *Hot Wax* (with no pretense of chronological correctness), along with contemporary objections to the genre. It was "caterwauling." It dealt with "suggestive topics." It was rotting away the moral fiber of the nation's youth.

Then, all of a sudden, "A Day in the Life" was being muzaked into elevators. Mothers were buying Barry Manilow albums for the kids. Ten-year-olds packed the rafters for Kiss. Donny, Marie, Tenille and the Captain showed up in our front rooms on prime-time TV, shouldering out their less commercially palatable competition.

The primal beast was devouring itself with an insatiable appetite for the trite.

The torch ignited by Elvis (who later did more than his share to put it out) was still being passed—but underground. While the once dangerous Mick J. hobnobbed with the Beautiful People, rock outlaws were keeping alive the



Tim McIntire as DJ Alan Freed, portrayed in *AMERICAN HOT WAX* as a regular hero. The real Alan Freed was the center of the great radio payola scandal, which put him off the air waves and into the poor house.

tradition of shock and scorn. The archtypical Velvet Underground biased the subterranean trail, inspiring other "avant-garde" musicians to imitate their blend of off-beat lyrics and raw power.

But the number of true believers steadily dwindled with no heir apparent to renew their faith.

Then (as had happened when things got dull in '63) rock's rejuvenating shot in the arm came from Britain. Stapled nostrils and other press inventions following the infamous Sex Pistols raised as much clamor as ear-lobe-length hair did ten years before. All it took was one outrageous and highly visible group with a vision, and the record market on both sides of the Atlantic shook and shivered with new life.

A plethora of "new wave" bands appeared like monsters that had been lying dormant for years, just waiting for the spark. The Ramones, Television, Blondie, Talking Heads, Mink DeVille, the Bizarres, Pere Ubu, the Dils, the Randos and countless others rose to pick up where Iggy Pop

and the Dolls and Springsteen left off.

There is an argument to the effect that the new wave is only a ripple, doomed to the same short life and minimal influence as the avant-garde rock that preceded it. Someone has even suggested that "disco is the rock'n'roll of the '70s." And in the sense of being merely a popular trend in music, that is probably truer than I want to admit.

And this brings us back to *American Hot Wax* and history. The real Alan Freed's major legacy to rock is as the center figure in the great radio payola scandal that eventually put him off the air and into the poor house. But the guy apparently really dug the music and did less harm than good.

How do you rate the sin of one DJ who accepts gifts from unknown but sincere rockers in exchange for pushing them into the ears of a hostile public, as against the wholesale sellout of many of today's mainstream pop artists who are proud to grind out any

old mindless drivel as long as it's a commercially viable product? Or stations that make a profit out of spinning already popular discs to a point somewhere beyond *ad nauseam*?

The story of rock and roll involves public as well as private gain. All things considered, I think the public has come out ahead.

And as for *American Hot Wax*, it's not a film to be taken seriously. But it's a lot of fun, has a good beat and you can dance to it. Sit back with your popcorn and enjoy.

—P. Hertel  
P. Hertel is a free-lance journalist in Chicago who regularly reviews records and films for *IN THESE TIMES*.

## IF YOU MISSED THEM ON TV YOU CAN GET IT ON THE ALBUM

### THE RUTLES

The Rutles  
(Warner Bros.)

*The Rutles* provides fresh evidence that Marx was correct when he wrote that when history repeats itself, the second time is a farce. This album, the brainchild of Eric Idle (of *Monty Python* fame) and Neil Innes, is not only the best parody of the Beatles ever made, but the best history as well.

In its songs and in the marvelous booklet that accompanies the album, *The Rutles* tells the story of the "Prefab Four"—Ron Nasty, Dirk McQuickly, Stig O'Hara, and Barry Wom—from their early days in Liverpool to their becoming the most successful rock band in history to the disintegration and lawsuits that accompanied their final album, "Let It Rot." Along the way we are shown photographs and hear songs from their two successful films, "A Hard Day's Rut" and "Ouch!", and relive the controversy over Nasty's claim that the Rutles were bigger than God. (Ac-

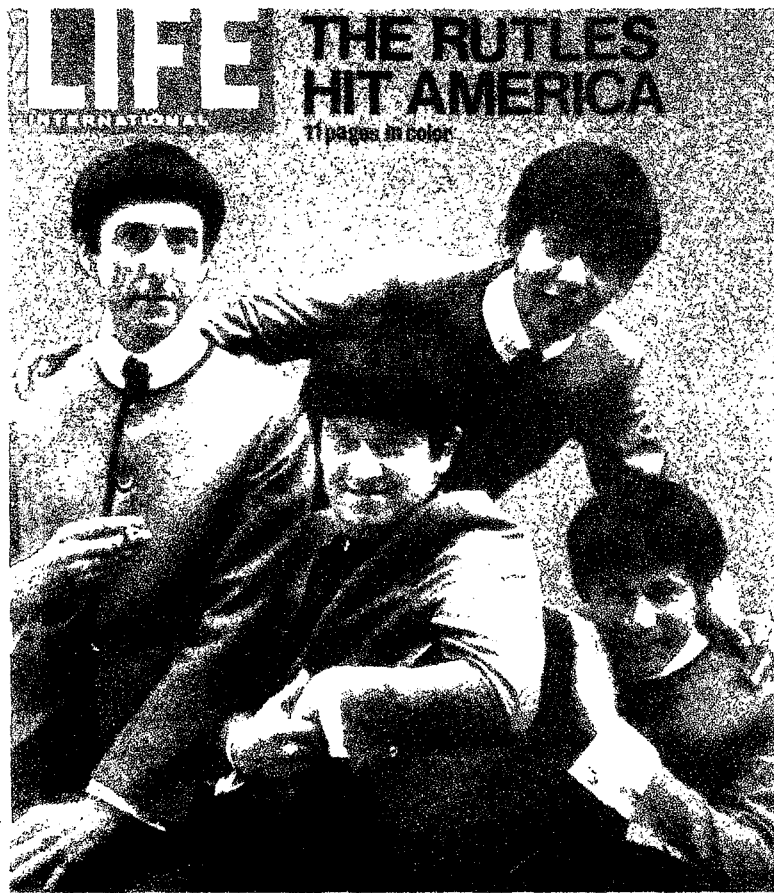
tually, as the album notes make clear, "It was all a ghastly mistake. Nasty, talking to a slightly deaf journalist, had claimed only that the Rutles were bigger than Rod. Rod Stewart would not be big for another eight years.")

It is the Rutles' creativity and humor that distinguishes them from other recent efforts to capitalize on our memories of the Beatles. The stage play "Beatlemania" is totally mimetic, neither measuring up to its subject nor providing much insight. The repackaging of Beatles songs in new albums was hardly necessary because the original albums are still available. Even the *National Lampoon's* special issue on the Beatles suffered from a shortage of genuinely funny material.

The Rutles have not supplied new words to old Beatles songs. They have completely captured the sound, style, accents, harmonies, and intonations of the Beatles, and it is a joy to try to figure out which particular Beatles song they're caricaturing. In the process they've written some genuinely fine songs of their own.

Adding to the success of the parody is the inclusion of "real" people in the gag. Actual interviews about the Rutles were conducted with Mick Jagger and Paul Simon. And the TV show based on the history of the Rutles, "All You Need Is Cash," which was shown on NBC on March 22, included a number of familiar faces, such as George Harrison. If you missed the show, don't worry; the album and booklet stand by themselves.

*The Rutles* is an unprecedented album in rock history, one that manages to do justice to both the talent of the Beatles and our remembrances of them. The care that Idle and Innes show in all aspects of the production of this album proves them to be not only supreme rock music archivists but superb humorists as well. Their work goes beyond what usually passes for parody and sets a new standard. —Bruce Dancis  
Bruce Dancis writes regularly for *IN THESE TIMES* on rock and reggae music.





# ROCK & ROLL IS HERE TO PAY— TO THE TUNE OF \$4 BILLION

## ROCK'N'ROLL IS HERE TO PAY

By Steve Chapple and Robert  
Garofalo  
Nelson-Hall, Chicago, 1978,  
\$7.95

"When I hear the word culture  
I reach for my gun."

—Herman Goering

"I don't make culture, I sell it."

—Dick Clark

Periodically books appear on the market that, by dint of their thoroughgoing research, documentation and analysis, radically alter the ways in which we are able to understand the workings of life in corporate America.

Consumer gripes about built-in obsolescence paled beside the proven facts in Ralph Nader's *Unsafe at Any Speed*. The arrogance and power of a giant multi-national corporation was exposed in Anthony Sampson's *Sovereign State of IT&T*. Now the face behind the face of rock and roll is clearly identified in *Rock'n'Roll Is Here to Pay*.

In tracing the 25-year development of the rock industry Chapple and Garofalo have created a miniature history of the U.S. Rooted in the black experience of "race music" (slavery), a handful of independent producers (robber barons), using unscrupulous methods such as payola, were able to undermine the force of a popular mode of expression (democracy) by turning it into a commodity and selling it back to the people for a profit.

This process of monopolization is traced through the early chapters of the book as a kind of dialectical interplay between musical style and industry marketing; rockabilly and radio syndication; schlock rock and Dick Clark; management and rack jobbing; the British invasion and the independent record deal. The result is shocking. Rock and roll, figured in terms of combined sales on records, tapes, concerts and radio ads is a \$4 billion a year industry, larger than Hollywood and organized sports combined, second only to TV in the entertainment/leisure sector of the economy.

Certain sections of the book discuss the operating style and personalities of the major record labels; Ahmet Ertgun of Atlantic, MCA's Mike Maitland, Motown's Berry Gordy. The history of the label mergers and absorption by larger conglomerates is reviewed along with a consideration of some of the things that may imply.

Keith Richards of the Rolling Stones: "We found out that all the bread we made for Decca was going into making little black boxes that go into American Air Force bombers to bomb fucking North Vietnam. Goddamn, you find out you've helped kill God knows how many thousands of people without even knowing it. I'd rather the mafia than Decca."

According to 1973 figures (since expanded), the top ten record companies controlled over 80 percent of the American domestic market, while the two largest—CBS and Warner Communications (separately profiled in the chapter "Solid Gold")—between them controlled over a third of the market.

Other sections of the book examine the people who make the millions that fall through the



Steve Chapple, co-author of *ROCK AND ROLL IS HERE TO PAY*.

Rachelle Resnick

"cracks" between the record companies and radio syndicates: promoters and managers like Bill Graham and Frank Barsalona; the FM stations that "co-opted" themselves by developing hip, mellow sounding ads for the national accounts; and the rock press, with particular attention to *Rolling Stone*. The book's insightful critique of *Rolling Stone* as a promoter of the consumer lifestyle and as an industry advertising medium disguised in (mildly) anti-establishment drag may have something to do with *Stone* critic Dave Marsh's recent review in which he labeled the book a "left-wing pink cadillac."

The book is both left-wing and highly readable in its problematic/polemical approach. This comes across most clearly in the last three chapters: "Black Roots, White Fruits," "Long Hard Climb" and "Billion Dollar Baby." The first two of these examine the history of racism and sexism in the industry and how that affected black and women artists.

The use of white "covers" for

black hits, separate play lists, the rise and fall of the "girl groups," the emphasis on sexy female vocals that put "chicks up front" are all placed in the context of the larger institutionalized forms of oppression that exist in our society.

The last chapter, "Billion Dollar Baby," places the rise of rock in the larger context of the American post war political economy; the growth of imperialism and concomitant expansion of the consumer sector of the economy, the creation of a teen culture, the development of the university system to meet the growing technological demands of the system, the moral contradictions of the '50s and '60s.

The authors link the visceral male sexuality of rock to the new personality structures required by advanced capitalist society, a kind of Marcusean taming-of-the-beast analysis.

In conclusion they argue that while rock and roll is here to pay, it is also here to stay: that it is the organic folk music of a new gen-

eration of young workers. Its full potential cannot be realized until it (and we) are freed from the commodity packaging of the system and pick up on a different beat. Then there'll be dancing in the street.

—David Helvarg  
*David Helvarg is a free-lance writer in San Diego.*

MUSIC & All That Jazz

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